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1603–1642

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF JAMES I.

TO

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

1603–1642

BY

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IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. III.

1616–1621

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PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

I HAVE TO ASK my readers to make two corrections in my account of the Parliament of 1614. I spoke of Montague as having been rejected by the City of London, and of Pym as having been the member for Calne. Montague, however, sat for London, and though Eliot was a member of this Parliament, Pym was not. The mistake was pointed out to me by Mr. DUNCOMBE PINK, who has printed in *The Palatine Note Book* the only existing authoritative list of this Parliament, from the MS. in the Kimbolton Library. He was good enough to send me a copy, after my own text was in type, to which I referred in a note, though I regret that I did not then verify by it the statements which I had made upon inferior authority.

In quoting from Salvetti's News-Letters, of which the transcripts are to be found in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.* 27,962), I have not thought it necessary to add any special reference, as the letters are in chronological order, and are therefore easily to be found by their dates.

In this and in future volumes the quotation of *Venice MSS.* means that the reference is to the documents seen by

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myself at Venice : that of *Venetian Transcripts* means that I have made use of the admirable collection sent to the Public Record Office by Mr. RAWDON BROWN.

The papers formerly belonging to the East India Company, upon which my narrative of the struggle with the Dutch in the East is principally founded, are in the India Office, but abstracts of them are to be found in the Calendar of Papers relating to the East Indies edited by Mr. SAINSBURY.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DISGRACE OF CHIEF JUSTICE COKE.

THE year which witnessed the breach of the French alliance was also marked by a constitutional dispute of no slight importance.

1616. Coke and the King.

For some time there had been strong symptoms of a collision impending between the Crown and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The resistance of Coke to James's claim to impose penalties by proclamation, and to the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Commission, had revealed a spirit of defiance in him, which arose partly from personal ruggedness of temper, but partly also from a strong sense of the importance of his office, not unlike that which, in an early age, made it impossible for Becket, as Archbishop of Canterbury, to abandon the ecclesiastical view of the relations between the Church and the Crown. The treatment which Coke had received in Peacham's case had tended, not unnaturally, to rouse his indignation against those who had baulked him in his design of erecting the judges, over whom he domineered, into a great constitutional power, whose part it was to mediate between the Crown and the nation.

The collision which ensued, however, was as much the result of the position of the Government as of the personal character of the Chief Justice. As long as the Sovereign and

the House of Commons had worked together, no question had arisen of any importance by which the independence of the judges could be affected. But as soon as the King was at open war with the representatives of the nation, it was almost certain that, in some form or another, the judges would put forward a claim to decide upon constitutional questions, and that that claim would be resisted by the Crown.

A collision unavoidable under the circumstances.

No man could be better fitted than Bacon to appear as the champion of the King against the judges; for no man could be more thoroughly convinced that the judges had no right to hold a position independent of the Crown. There is abundant evidence in his writings that he looked upon the defence of the prerogative as especially entrusted to the care of the judges. If there were any doubt on this point, it would be sufficient to quote the illustration of the lions under Solomon's throne, of which he so frequently made use. In one of his Essays, for instance, he wrote that 'Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides. Let' the judges, therefore, 'be lions, but yet lions under the throne, being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty.' But it is needless to quote individual passages to show that he accepted a political theory which lies at the root of everything which he thought or said upon the subject.

Bacon's views.

Bacon's dislike of admitting the judges to be the supreme arbiters on political and administrative questions arose originally from his profound conviction that such questions could only be properly treated of by those who were possessed of political knowledge and administrative experience. He felt, truly enough, that the most intimate acquaintance with statutes and precedents was insufficient to enable a man to decide upon State affairs; and if he had ever been inclined to forget it, the example of Coke was constantly before his eyes as a proof that no amount of legal knowledge will ever constitute a statesman. Nor was this a consideration of small importance. As the relations between James and his Parliament then stood, the judge who decided upon the law which assigned limits to each could not avoid usurping the

His reason for adopting them.

functions of a statesman. He not only declared how far the existing law applied to the facts of the case, but he fixed the constitution of the country for the future. It was true that the decisions of the judges were liable at any time to be reversed by Act of Parliament; but the day was far distant when it would be possible to obtain the joint assent of the Crown and the Parliament to any Act affecting the powers of either. For the present the judges, if they succeeded in maintaining their independence, would have in their hands the supreme control over the constitution. They would be able, without rendering an account to anyone, to restrain or to extend the powers of the Crown for an indefinite period. In 1606 they had, by a decision from the Bench, assigned to the King the right of levying Impositions, which, in spite of all opposition, he retained for no less than thirty-five years. If it pleased them, they might deprive him, in the same way, of rights which he considered to be essential to the exercise of his government.

How far they were justified by modern experience.

Although Bacon's wish to bring the judges into subjection to the Crown has found no favour in later times, it must be remembered that his doctrine of the necessity of referring elsewhere than to them for the final decision on all constitutional questions has stood the test of modern experience.[1] The victory of Parliament has, indeed,

[1] The following remarks of De Tocqueville (*Dem. en Amérique*, i. chap. 6) are particularly applicable, "Si, en France, les tribunaux pouvaient désobéir aux lois sur le fondement qu'ils les trouvent inconstitutionnelles, le pouvoir constituant serait réellement dans leurs mains, puisque seuls ils auraient le droit d'interpréter une constitution dont nul ne pourrait changer les termes. Ils se mettraient donc à la place de la nation, et domineraient la société, autant du moins que la faiblesse inhérente au pouvoir judiciare leur permettrait de la faire.

"Je sais qu'en refusant aux juges le droit de déclarer les lois inconstitutionnelles, nous donnons indirectement au corps législatif le pouvoir de changer la constitution, puisqu'il ne rencontre plus de barrière légale qui l'arrête. Mais mieux vaut encore accorder le pouvoir de changer la constitution du peuple à des hommes qui représentent imparfaitement les volontés du peuple, qu'à d'autres qui ne représentent qu'eux-mêmes." The power of appealing to the Common Law to interpret, or even practically to overrule the statute law, gave to the English judges a right in some

thrown the supreme political power into other hands than those in which Bacon would have placed it ; but it is not one of the least happy results of that victory that it has now become possible to exercise a control over the judges without sacrificing their independence. It is Parliament which decides what the constitution shall be, and having this power in its hands, it has no inclination to interfere with the judges whenever, in the exercise of the proper duties of their office, they declare what the constitution is at any given moment. An Act of Parliament at once makes any obnoxious decision of the Courts impossible for the future. There is no longer any reason to be afraid of a judgment similar to those on Impositions and on Ship Money, now that it is certain that there is no difficulty in rendering the judgment innocuous, and in providing, at the same time, against a repetition of the offence.

Impossibility of Bacon's anticipating our solution.

But no solution of this kind was possible for Bacon. As long as the Crown and the Commons were engaged in a conflict with one another, all chance of legislation upon the parts which they were respectively to occupy in the constitution was at an end. They might either of them have just causes of complaint against the judges ; but until they could make up their differences, they were both debarred from interfering by a general and prospective law, and in no other way was it possible to interfere with advantage. Having, therefore, refused to acknowledge the rising claims of the House of Commons, Bacon had no choice but to advocate the plan of entrusting the Crown with powers the exercise of which would ultimately prove as injurious to itself as to the community at large. His recognition of the impropriety of trusting to such men as Coke the

measure analogous to the right of interpreting a written constitution of which De Tocqueville speaks. Such a right would throw into their hands the final decision on constitutional questions to a far greater extent than would have been possible if they had been fettered by a written text. Bacon's solution of the difficulty was very different from that given after the experience of two centuries and a half by the modern writer ; but it is probable that they both felt the same objection to the theory which they were combating.

final decision on questions which might involve the welfare of the whole people, led him insensibly to choose the worse of two evils. If the Crown could not legislate independently of the Commons, it was to make use of its superior power to tutor the judges to see things as they were looked upon at Court. They must regard themselves as bound to support that prerogative which was in the hands of the King for the benefit of the commonwealth.

Mischief of Bacon's course.

It is needless to say that this view of the office of the judges, though it was plausible enough to impose upon the mind of Bacon, was no less ruinous to the prerogative of the Crown than to the independency of the Bench. If the King and his Council were to interfere with the opinions of the judges on every question in which the constitutional rights of the Crown were involved, it would not be long before the decisions of men who were known to be influenced by other arguments than those furnished by the law-books would cease to be received as having any authority whatever. Even that object which Bacon was justified in aiming at would not be attained. The only way in which the judges could safely be restrained from settling constitutional questions was by making legislation once more possible. Till that was done the King might secure that all their decisions on such questions should be on his own side, but he would at the same time lessen the respect in which those decisions were held by the community at large.

Position occupied by Coke.

Bacon was the more easily drawn on in the course which he adopted, as he could hardly avoid regarding the whole affair as a purely personal question. Till within a few years, the judges had been, on the whole, favourable to the prerogative. The great cases of the Post-nati and of the Impositions had been decided upon grounds which would have satisfied the most thoroughgoing champion of the Crown. But not long after Coke's accession to the Bench, a different spirit began to prevail. Coke was accustomed upon every occasion to appeal to the law, as that which was to decide every question which could possibly arise ; but,

unfortunately, the arrogance of his bearing, and the narrowness of his intellect, robbed the noblest principles of their attraction. What he meant by the law was neither the collection of written statutes, which would have been utterly insufficient to settle the complicated questions which were continually arising ; nor was it, on the other hand, the application of great principles to particular cases. He meant that where the statutes failed him, he was to have recourse to those numerous precedents which he was able to quote in profusion out of his retentive memory, or even that when he was at a loss for a precedent, he should invent a principle to justify him in deciding as he pleased. At the same time he showed a disposition to bring every court in England under the control of the one over which he himself presided. Bacon, in spite of the taunts with which his rival frequently assailed him, never failed to express his admiration of the extent of his legal knowledge ; but it was not strange that he should stand in determined opposition to the man who seemed to be bent on establishing in England a despotism of mere book-learning and antiquarian lore. There can be no doubt, indeed, that in this he did Coke some wrong. With all the infirmities of his temper and the errors of his judgment, the great lawyer was in reality fighting for something quite as valuable as anything that the highest statesmanship could give. His law may frequently have been quoted in support of injustice ; still it aimed at being law, and not mere arbitrary power. He believed in his own learning as the one thing needful to maintain the institutions of his country. It is not strange that the sympathies of posterity have been with Coke, and not with Bacon. Yet the time has come when we can feel that each was contending for a great principle. In Bacon we have personified, however imperfectly, the claims of statesmanship, of wide political intelligence, and of active participation in administrative business. In Coke, if we tear aside the veil of his crabbed and uncouth personality, we may yet recognise something of the majesty of the law. As so often happens, the quarrel was one which could not be solved satisfactorily under the conditions of the time. It was the rise of the constitutional importance of the

House of Commons which alone could adequately meet the difficulty.

The momentous question in debate between the Crown and the judges was first brought to an issue on a comparatively unimportant case. In 1611 the King had granted to a person named Michell, at the request of John Murray, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber, the sole right of making certain writs in the Court of Common Pleas. Upon this Brownlow, the prothonotary of that court, finding that his own fees were diminishing, brought an action against Michell in the King's Bench, on the ground that he had been deprived of his rights by the defendant. It so happened that an attempt to create the same office as that which had been assigned to Michell had been made in the reign of Elizabeth, and that, the judges having resisted the attempt, the Queen had, with her usual good sense, at once withdrawn her pretensions. James, if he had ever heard anything about the matter, neglected to profit by her example.[1]

Case of Brownlow *v.* Michell.

The matter in dispute was one of no great importance in itself; but it afforded a field on which to try the question, how far the judges could decide, upon merely legal grounds, upon the right of the Crown to make administrative appointments. It happened that there was in existence a writ which was admirably suited to the purpose of a man who wished to deprive the judges of all claim to interfere in such matters. By this writ, *De non procedendo Rege inconsulto*, the Common Law judges were prohibited from dealing with a case in which the interests of the Crown were concerned, before the question in dispute had been first referred to the Court of Chancery, and its permission obtained for the parties to proceed with the suit.[2] Bacon

1615. Bacon produces a writ *De Rege Inconsulto.*

[1] Heath's Preface to the Argument on the writ *De Rege inconsulto* (Bacon's *Literary and Professional Works*, ii. 683).

[2] The working of this writ, if Bacon had obtained his object, would have been, to some extent, analogous to that provision which has been found in so many French constitutions, according to which no agent of the Government can be summoned before a tribunal, for acts done in the exercise of his office, without a preliminary authorisation by the Council of

not only brought this writ into court, but demanded that it should be at once received as an authoritative command, which the judges were not entitled to allow the counsel for either party in the case before them to dispute.

Importance of this step.

It was plain that, however cogent the precedents might be by which Bacon could support the step which he had taken, it was a concession of no slight importance which he asked the judges to make. At the best, the writ had been but a clumsy mode of ascertaining that the rights of the Crown would suffer no damage by a suit in which it was not itself a party ; but as long as it had only been issued in cases where the tenancy of a few acres of land, or the right to some petty office was at stake, it is not probable that any great harm had been done. In the reign of Elizabeth, Bacon would have been right in saying that it ought to be a matter of indifference to the parties whether the cause were tried before the Chancellor or the Chief Justice. In either case, substantial justice would probably have been done. But now that an opposition had sprung up between the Crown and the courts of law, and that every case such as that which was before the Court was sure to be regarded from different points of view by those who took part on either side, the question had ceased to be one merely concerning the honour and dignity of the Crown. What Bacon really wanted he acknowledged in a letter which he wrote at the time. The Chancellor was a great political officer as well as a judge.[1] There would be no fear lest he should be led astray, either by respect for legal technicalities, or by jealousy of the Government, to overthrow any arrangement made by the Crown which was not utterly indefensible in itself.

In fact, if Bacon had had his way, all pretensions of the

State. The effect of the English writ being confined to cases where the King was himself supposed to be injured, would have been of less universal application, but the principle on which it rested would have been equally bad.

[1] "Your Majesty knoweth your Chancellor is ever a principal counsellor and instrument of monarchy, of immediate dependence upon the King, and therefore like to be a safe and tender guardian of the regal rights."—Bacon to the King, Jan. 27, *Letters and Life*, iv. 234.

judges to act as arbiters between the King and his subjects would have been at an end for ever. It is no wonder, therefore, that the judges refused to take Bacon's view of the case, and directed that the question of the legality of the writ should be argued before them.[1] The King, too, was not behindhand in perceiving the importance of the question at issue. He gave special directions to Coke not to presume to give judgment until he had had an interview with himself.

It was some time before the case was brought to a close. Nearly a year after it had first been brought into the court

1616. Bacon's argument.

Bacon was called on, on January 25, 1616, to speak on behalf of the King. His speech was acknowledged, even by Coke himself, to be 'a famous argument.'[2] He prudently dropped all allusion to his real motives for wishing to bring cases of this nature under the Chancellor's jurisdiction, and treated the question simply as one of propriety. He had no difficulty in quoting a goodly array of precedents in support of his view of the case. There is nothing more remarkable than the ease with which he threw off his character as a statesman, and, treating the question as one of purely technical law, dealt with it in a manner which Coke might well have envied.[3]

It was perhaps the difficulty of resisting Bacon's precedents, combined with the disinclination of the judges to assent to his conclusion, that led to a compromise of the question.

The suit compromised.

Brownlow gave up his claim to Michell's office, and the King promised that in future he would not give his assent to the creation of any office which would lead to a diminution of the profits of the existing officials.

Failure of Bacon to obtain the assent of the judges to his scheme.

So far Bacon had failed. He had been unable to obtain the recognition of the Common Law judges to a doctrine which would involve the abdication of one of their principal functions. But it was not likely that much time would elapse before he would again be

[1] *Bulstrode's Rep.* iii. 32.

[2] Bacon to the King, Jan. 27, *Letters and Life*, v. 233.

[3] This remark is borrowed from Mr. Heath, Preface to Bacon's 'Argument on the Jurisdiction of the Marches,' *Lit. and Prof. Works*, ii. 581.

brought into collision with the Chief Justice. In fact, very few weeks passed after Bacon's great speech on the writ of *Rege inconsulto*, before Coke allowed his temper to get the better of him in such a way as to afford a golden opportunity to his antagonist.

Quarrel of Coke with the Chancery.

A custom had gradually arisen of seeking redress in Chancery, in cases where the Common Law courts had failed to do justice on account of the strictness of the rules which they had laid down for their guidance. Such a practice was, naturally enough, regarded with dissatisfaction by the Common Law judges, and by none more than by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who had long looked upon the Chancellor in the light of a personal opponent, as well as in that of a thoroughgoing supporter of an obnoxious system. If Coke, before he complained of the interference of the Chancery with his jurisdiction, had set himself steadily to work to remedy the evils which were complained of in the practice of his own court, he would probably have gained the support of all impartial persons; for it is manifestly objectionable that the judgments delivered in one court should be liable to reversal in another, unless that other court has been constituted expressly for the purpose of hearing appeals. But, instead of this, he plunged at once into the contest with that violence of temper which was certain to disgust all who knew that real and substantial justice was frequently afforded by the Chancery to suitors who had failed in obtaining it at Westminster.

The statute of *præmunire*.

As Coke was thinking over the best means of punishing those who had insulted the court over which he presided, it occurred to him that a statute [1] passed in the reign of King Edward III., which was directed against those who appealed to Rome against sentences obtained in the King's courts, contained words which, if taken without regard to the context, might possibly mean that no one was to question a judgment of the King's Bench in any other court, under the penalty attached to a *præmunire*.[2] He was

[1] 27 Ed. III. St. i. cap. 1.

[2] The words 'in any other court' in the statute are translated also 'in

accordingly well pleased to discover that two scoundrels[1] named Glanville and Allen, had met with something less than their just deserts in Chancery, after judgments had been given in their favour in the Common Law courts.

Glanville's case.

Glanville's case was indeed a bad one. He had swindled a young man named Courtney out of a large sum of money, by representing the value of a jewel to be 360*l.*, which was in reality worth only 30*l.* He sold him this jewel together with others which were worth 100*l.* more, and obtained from him an agreement to pay 600*l.*, upon which, when he found that the money was not forthcoming, he surreptitiously procured a judgment in a Common Law court. When Courtney discovered the fraud to which he had been subjected, he attempted to get redress, but was refused, on the ground that, the judgment having once been obtained, nothing further could be done. He then applied to the Court of Chancery, from which he obtained the justice which he sought. Allen's case was somewhat similar. Coke at once took the two swindlers under his protection, and instigated[2] them to prefer indictments of *præmunire* in the King's Bench, not only against the suitors who had obtained the protection of the Court of Chancery, but also against the counsellors and the clerks who had taken part in the proceedings.

Coke, however, who was upon the Bench, awaiting the success of his scheme, found an unexpected obstacle in his

the court of another,' apparently correctly, as the French is 'en autri court.' This would overthrow Coke's case at once, as is remarked by the author of the *Jurisdiction of Chancery Vindicated*, appended to vol. i. of *Chancery Reports*, p. 30. But the context is quite enough to settle the question.

[1] There is a full account of these men in *Harl. MSS.* 1767, fol. 37. Compare, for Glanville's case, *Croke, Jac.* The sums of money are differently stated. I have adopted those from Croke. The cases are frequently quoted as if they had been one, 'Glanville *v.* Allen,' which is, of course, a mistake.

[2] Such, at least, was the general belief, though he denied it. Perhaps he contented himself with giving them a strong hint that he would support them.

way. The grand jury, who probably knew nothing about the statutes and precedents which were appealed to as determining the relations between the two courts, but who knew perfectly well that they were asked to assist a baffled swindler in taking vengeance on his dupe, were by no means in a hurry to find a true bill in the case. On this Coke sent for them, and refused to grant their request for further time to deliberate, as the case was, in his opinion, too plain to need any delay. The jury remonstrated on the ground that they had no evidence that the judgment in question had been duly obtained. Upon this Coke sprang upon his feet, and attempted to browbeat them into submission. They retired for a short time, and, on their returning without having complied with his orders, the Chief Justice told them to go back again. He would not leave the bench till the business was done; if they refused to do as he told them, he would commit them for their conduct.

The grand jury return an *ignoramus*.

In spite of all this, the grand jury refused to be bullied into submission. They returned once more into court, and, to Coke's disgust, returned an *ignoramus*. Angry as he was, Coke did not dare to carry his threats into execution. He told Glanville and Allen to be ready by next term, when he would have a better jury to decide upon their cases.[1]

At the time when this violent scene was taking place, Ellesmere was lying ill, and, though he ultimately recovered, was not expected to live. Bacon, who was of one mind with him on such a subject as this, and who had been visiting him in his sickness, wrote to acquaint the King with all that had happened, and promised to send him full particulars as soon as he was able to obtain a trustworthy account. A few days later, he gave his opinion of what had passed.[2] The defenders of the Common Law courts rested their case partly upon the statute of Edward III., which was, in

Bacon writes to the King.

[1] Proofs of the proceedings, printed in Lord Campbell's *Chancellors*, ii. 236. The story so often told about the witness kept away, which will be found in the same page, does not fit into the cases of either Glanville or Allen.

[2] Bacon to the King, Feb. 15 and 21, *Letters and Life*, v. 246, 249.

reality, directed against the Papal Courts, and partly upon another statute of Henry IV.,[1] which contained a simple declaration, without any penalty annexed, that, after judgment given in the King's courts, the parties should be at peace. The reason assigned was because many persons whose cases had already been decided, had been made to come, to their great inconvenience, before the King himself, or the Council, or even the Parliament. This statute, as Bacon argued, was only intended to prevent parties from having to argue the same question over again, and not to prevent the institution of suits in Chancery, in cases in which one party had never been properly heard at all, on account of the strictness of the rules observed in the Common Law courts.

Opinion of the law officers.

The whole question was referred by the King to the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, the two King's Serjeants, Montague and Crew, and the Prince's Attorney, John Walter, one of the most rising lawyers of the day. After consideration, they gave it as their unanimous opinion that the Court of Chancery was justified in the exercise of the jurisdiction which had been so violently assailed.[2]

Case of commendams.

Before, however, the King had decided upon the course he would take, another question arose which embroiled him still further with the stubborn Chief Justice. It happened that, during the time that Bishop Neile had held the see of Lichfield, he had received from the King the grant of a living to be held in commendam with his bishopric as long as he occupied the see. Two persons of the name of Colt and Glover brought an action against him. They not only asserted that the presentation was theirs, and not the King's, but they pleaded that, on account of certain legal objections, the grant was invalid in itself. As the case was of great importance, and had never before been brought forward, it was adjourned into the Exchequer Chamber, in order that all the twelve judges might deliver their opinions. Whilst the case was being

[1] 4 Hen. IV., cap. 23.

[2] 'The Jurisdiction of Chancery Vindicated,' in *Chanc. Rep.* i. Cary's *Reports*.

argued, information was given to the King that his prerogative was being questioned. He accordingly deputed Bishop Bilson to be present in court in his name, in order to make a report to him of the language which was used. On his return, Bilson told him that he had heard Serjeant Chibborne maintain that the King had no power to translate a bishop, and that, though it was true that in cases of necessity he might grant a commendam, yet that it was impossible that there ever could be any necessity for such a step. The King was eager to put a stop to this kind of language. About a month or two before, he had ordered Coke not to proceed to judgment till he had communicated with him in person. He now directed Bacon to write to the Chief Justice, repeating his command.

Bacon writes to Coke, ordering him not to proceed with the case.

Accordingly, on April 25, Bacon wrote to Coke, requiring him to intimate to the other judges that it was expected that they would postpone the delivery of their opinions until they had spoken with the King. On the receipt of this letter, Coke resolved to make a stand on behalf of the independence of his office. An anecdote, which has been preserved by Whitelocke, is enough to give an insight into what was passing in his mind. In the autumn of the previous year, whilst still smarting under the treatment which he had received in Peacham's affair, Coke was present at the sermon at Windsor. As soon as it was concluded, Whitelocke, who was also among the congregation, accompanied him out of the chapel to his coach. Seeing that he was about to drive away, he asked him why he did not remain to the dinner at the Court. Coke replied that the King was fond of asking him questions which were of such a nature that he preferred being as far off as possible. "I guess," was Whitelocke's remark as he noted down this conversation, "it was concerning matters of prerogative, which the King would take ill if he were not answered in them as he would have it."[1]

Coke's feeling on the point.

Since that time the argument of Bacon on the writ of *Rege inconsulto*, and the known determination of the King to check

[1] Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, 48.

him in his resistance to what he regarded as the interference of the Chancellor with his own peculiar jurisdiction, had exasperated him still more. He may well have seen in Bacon's letter an attempt to carry, by a side wind, a point which he had failed to gain by direct attack. If the Attorney-General had been unable to convince the Court of King's Bench that it was obligatory upon it to refuse to decide upon all cases in which the Crown was concerned until it had obtained the Chancellor's permission to investigate the matter, it would serve his purpose equally if he could reduce the Common Law judges to such a state of subservience that they would be unlikely to resist the expressed wishes of the King. No method could be imagined more likely to attain that end than the one which was now proposed. If, whenever a case arose in which the prerogative was concerned, the judges were to be called into the presence of the King to debate the point with him, a habit would speedily grow up of looking to the wishes of the Sovereign rather than to the dictates of the law.

To Bacon, Coke returned a short answer. He directed the messenger who brought the letter to tell his master that if he wished the judges to receive the information which he had just given him, he had better write to them himself. On April 26, Bacon, who had no intention of allowing any mere question of etiquette to stand in his way,[1] wrote to the other judges.

April 26. The judges go on with the case.

To Bacon's surprise, the judges did not even take the trouble of answering his letters. On that very day they proceeded with their arguments as if nothing whatever had happened. On the 27th[2] a letter was despatched to the King, written apparently by Coke, but signed

[1] "His answer by word to my man was that it were good the rest of the judges understood so much from myself: whereupon I, that cannot skill of scruples in matter of service, did write on Friday three several letters," &c. (Bacon to the King, *Letters and Life*, v. 273.) The meaning is plainly as I have given it above. Bacon did not say, as he is sometimes charged with saying, that he was unscrupulous in the King's service.

[2] This is the date of the letter, as given in *S. P.* lxxxvii. 44, ii., which is evidently right.

by all the twelve judges. They said that they were on all occasions bound to serve His Majesty, but that the case before them depended upon the construction of two Acts of Parliament, on which they were bound to deliver their opinions faithfully and uprightly. The point in dispute before them, moreover, they added, earnestly called for a speedy decision, as it was one in which two parties were interested in a question of property. The letter which they had received was contrary to law, and they were bound by their oaths to pay no attention to it. They had therefore proceeded with the case on the appointed day.

April 27. Their letter to the King.

The letter was characteristic of Coke. All through his life, as if by an unerring instinct, he turned aside from a strong argument to cherish weak ones with a parental fondness. He now assumed, what was certainly untrue, that the case was one in which merely private interests were involved. Its importance lay in the fact that it was concerned with public interests, and Coke was bound to show, if he could, that public interests would suffer from the interview to which James had invited the judges.

James had now the advantage on his side. In his reply, he told the judges that he had no wish whatever to interfere in any question which merely concerned the interests of parties ; but in the present case he himself was, to all intents and purposes, a party to the suit. Was it fitting, therefore, that his rights should be adjudicated upon without his being allowed to say a word in his own defence? As to the judges' oath that they would not delay justice, they were perfectly aware that they were frequently in the habit of postponing the hearing of cases from one term to another, for reasons which at the time appeared sufficient to themselves. All he asked was, that they should do the same when the delay was necessary in order that he might lay before them his own case whenever his rights were involved.

The King's reply.

On June 6, the judges were summoned before the Council, in the presence of the King. After the letters which had passed had been read, James proceeded to state his case. His arguments were those which

The judges acknowledge their offence.

he had previously set down in his letters. As soon as he had concluded, all the judges threw themselves upon their knees and asked pardon for their error.

Coke still protests.

Coke, however, though he joined the other judges in demanding pardon, did not allow the King's reasoning to remain unanswered. He reiterated his opinion that the postponement required by the King was in fact a real delay of justice, and he declared that the judges, at the time when they refused to obey the letter, knew that they had no intention of saying anything, in delivering judgment, which would affect the prerogative. He added that if they had not proceeded on the day appointed, the case would have dropped altogether, as it could not be adjourned except to some certain day, whereas no such day had been named in the letter of the Attorney-General.

The King's reply.

A far less practised disputant than James would hardly have missed the transparent sophistry of this last argument. The King had no difficulty in answering that the judges might easily have fixed any day they pleased, and that, when it arrived, if they had not yet had time to confer with him, they might have adjourned the case again. He then stepped upon more dangerous ground, asserting that they had no right to decide before consulting with him, in order that he might know whether the question concerned his prerogative or not. As to the oath, he wished to know what was the Chancellor's opinion on the point.

Bacon's opinion on the obligation of the judges' oath.

Ellesmere, with a timidity which may easily be accounted for in a man of his age, who had but lately recovered from a dangerous illness, shrank from being the first to engage, on such a point, in a contest with Coke. He therefore asked that, as the question related to a matter of law, the opinion of the law officers of the Crown might first be taken. Upon this, Bacon reiterated what had been already said by the King, and concluded by an argument which was no less open to exception than those which had been used by Coke. The oath of the judges, he said, bound them to give counsel to the King whenever they were called upon to do so, 'and if they will proceed first in a

business whereupon they are called to counsel, and will counsel him when the matter is past, it is more than a simple refusal to give him counsel.' In this opinion he was supported by the other law officers who were present.

It is hardly to be believed that Coke neglected such an opportunity of exposing the blunder made by Bacon, in confusing counsel given by the judges to the King with counsel which the King wished to give to the judges. But such was his inveterate wrongheadedness, that he preferred treating his adversary with contempt, even to exposing the weakness of his argument. It was the place of the Attorney-General, he said contemptuously, to plead before the judges, not to dispute with them. Bacon replied that he had a right to declare the truth in the King's name against any subject whatever, and appealed for redress for the insult which he had received. James, of course, took his part, and rebuked Coke for the language he had used. Ellesmere then declared that his opinion coincided with that of Bacon.

The judges give way.

After the Chancellor had given his opinion, the judges' oath was read at his request, and the terms in which it was couched were discussed. The question was then put to the judges, one by one, 'whether if, at any time, in a case depending before the judges, His Majesty conceived it to concern him either in power or profit, and thereupon required to consult with them, and that they should stay proceedings in the meantime, they ought not to stay accordingly?' Eleven of the judges gave way, and promised that they would in future act according to the King's wishes. The cause of this dereliction of duty (for, after all that may fairly be said on their behalf, it amounts to nothing less) was no doubt in great measure the fear of offending the King, whom they had been accustomed to treat with reverence, and to whom they owed all their future prospects of professional advancement. But it must not be forgotten that Coke had thrown away every opportunity of supporting his cause by arguments in any way worthy of attention. If Bacon had needed any additional evidence to prove that a strictly legal training is not the best preparation for deciding finally upon

political questions, he might have found it in the manifest incapability of the man who was confessedly the first lawyer of the day to defend his position in a question where, on all the main points, he was decidedly in the right.

Coke alone holds out.

Coke, however, though he could not refute the arguments which were brought against him, could not bear to acknowledge defeat. Nothing more could be drawn out of him than that, whenever the case should come before him, he would do what was fitting for a judge to do.

Interview with the judges.

Leaving Coke to assert his independence in his own way, the King then turned to the other judges, and asked them whether in their argument they meant to touch upon his general power of granting commendams. In the conversation which ensued enough was said to justify Coke's repugnance to the discussion of legal questions in the King's presence. It was anything rather than a consultation in which the King laid before the judges his view of the case as far as it affected himself, or in which he asked their opinion as to the extent to which his prerogative was affected by the law. The judges engaged not to allow any other view to be taken than that which he had adopted, and promised to silence any lawyer who presumed to call the prerogative in question. It is no wonder that James expressed his satisfaction, and that he dismissed them with assurances of protection.[1] The case was accordingly proceeded with without further delay, and though it was finally decided against the Bishop, it was on grounds which left the general prerogative of the Crown untouched.[2]

Bacon becomes a Privy Councillor.

Amongst the names which are appended to the Act of Council in which these proceedings are reported occurs the signature of Bacon, who for the first time took his seat at the Board upon June 9.[3] When Ellesmere had been ill, in February, Bacon had applied to be appointed his successor in the event of his death, which was at that time hourly expected. In the letter which he wrote he set forth at length the services which he hoped to be able to

[1] Act of Council. Bacon's *Letters and Life*, v. 357.

[2] *Hobart's Rep.*

[3] *Council Register*, June 9.

render in that office.[1] It is needless to enter upon the hopeless task of discriminating between the motives by which Bacon was influenced in making the application. No doubt the desire of benefiting his country was mixed up with the longing for a sphere in which to exercise his talents, which few men of his genius are without, and this again may have been mingled with more ordinary feelings. It is enough that he believed, with justice, that he was eminently fitted for the place, and that he laid his claims before the King, from whom alone he could obtain the object of his desires, and whose policy, in the main, he approved, though he would gladly have found an opportunity of drawing him on to a bolder and more comprehensive action.

Ellesmere, however, unexpectedly recovered, and Bacon had to wait a few months longer, knowing that he was sure of the Chancellor's good word whenever his claims to the succession might be discussed. In the meanwhile he applied for a place in the Privy Council, which would open before him a sphere of action still more suited to his abilities than any merely legal office. After some delay he was offered the choice between a Councillorship and the reversion of the Chancellor's place. He unhesitatingly chose the former, which would introduce him at once into the public business of the Government. The Chancellorship would be sure to fall into his hands when the time came.

The King comes into the Star Chamber.

On June 20, a fortnight after the altercation with Coke, the King came down to the Star Chamber, in order to give a public exposition of the principles by which his conduct had been governed. It would not be impossible to detect a superficial resemblance between the speech which he delivered and those which afterwards fell from

[1] Bacon to the King, Feb. 12, *Letters and Life*, v. 241. It is in this letter that the celebrated '*gloria in obsequio*' occurs. "For myself," Bacon writes, "I can only present your Majesty with a *gloria in obsequio*." *Obsequium* is simply obedience, not obsequiousness. All Bacon means is, "If you appoint me, I shall do my best to obey your orders." His theory of the relation between the King and his officials was, according to our notions, faulty, but it was sincerely entertained.

the lips of Cromwell. There is the same tendency to quote texts of Scripture, and the same appeal to God as to the foundation of all civil order. But here the resemblance ceases. With Cromwell the whole of the scene which is passing around him is instinct with a living presence, and he feels that his own work can only be rightly done in proportion as he yields himself to become the instrument of Him who is the only true actor in the events of the world. With James, between heaven and earth there exists merely an external relation. God appoints the king, and the king appoints the judges. It is a hierarchy in which James himself plays the principal part. The chief thing which he remembers is that he has a right to plead the appointment of God against all who dispute his title, and that, as he has appointed the judges, he has himself a claim upon their obedience. With all this there is a kind of easy-going assurance in the infallibility of his own judgment, which is not put prominently forward, simply because it never occurs to him to question it.

Adopting this theory of government, all the deductions which James drew from it are legitimate enough. He admired, he said, the Common Law of England, and would never shrink from giving his support to the judges; but they must take care not to encroach upon the jurisdictions of other courts, which were necessary in their several spheres. There were no doubt defects in the law, some of which he hoped to see amended in Parliament, and others which were traceable to the innovations of the judges themselves. Having said thus much, James addressed the judges on the questions immediately at issue. "Now," he said, "having spoken of your office in general, I am next to come to the limits wherein you are to bound yourselves. First, encroach not upon the prerogative of the Crown; if there fall out a question which concerns my prerogative or mystery of state, deal not with it till you consult with the King or his Council, or both, for they are transcendent matters, and must not be slibberly carried with overrash wilfulness, for so you may wound the King through the sides of a private person; and this I command to your special care, to blunt the sharp edge and vain popular

His speech.

humour of some lawyers at the bar, that think they are not eloquent and bold-spirited enough except they meddle with the King's prerogative. But do not you suffer this; for certainly, if this liberty be suffered, the King's prerogative, the Crown, and I, shall be as much wounded by their pleading as if you resolved what they disputed. That which concerns the mystery of the King's power is not lawful to be disputed, for that is to wade into the weakness of Princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that belongs unto them that sit in the throne of God.

"Secondly, that you keep yourselves within your own benches, not to invade other jurisdictions, which is unfit and an unlawful thing. This is a thing regal and proper, to keep every Court within his own bounds. Keep you therefore all in your own bounds, and for my part I desire you to give me no more right in my private prerogative than you give to any subject, and therein I will be acquiescent. As for the absolute prerogative of the Crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His Word, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do, or say that a King cannot do this or that, but rest in that which is the King's will revealed in his law."[1]

Character of the King's speech.

James spoke in accordance with the theory of the constitution which had been handed down to him. In every constitution there must be some fundamental power the authority of which is received as binding without dispute. In our days that authority is lodged in the constituencies. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was lodged in the King.

What James failed to perceive was that if the Royal authority had been beyond dispute, it was the Royal authority in its constitutional relation with the other institutions of the country. There was the greatest difference between a king acting in harmony with Parliament, as the guide and representative of public opinion, and a king ruling without a Parliament and

[1] King James's *Works*, p. 549.

setting public opinion at defiance. The criticism which James had forbidden in its legitimate place would be sure to make its way in unwonted and irregular channels. The balance of the state had been overturned, and popular lawyers and ambitious judges pressed in to fill the void.

It remained to be seen whether Coke would submit to this Royal exposition of the constitution. On the 26th he was called before the Council, and the Solicitor-General, after charging him with some pecuniary transactions of a doubtful character in which he had been engaged some years previously, inveighed against him for the words which he had used to the jury in the cases of Glanville and Allen, for his indecent behaviour in refusing to listen to the argument of the Attorney-General in the King's presence, and for his steadfastness when the other judges gave way. Coke attempted to excuse his conduct, and stated that the Court of King's Bench had entered an order that no further attempt should be made to meddle with the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. On June 30 Coke was again summoned to hear the result of James's consideration of his defence. By the King's orders he was suspended from his seat at the Council table, and from taking his part in the ensuing circuit. The harshest part of the sentence was a recommendation that he should employ his leisure in looking over his reports, and in correcting the extravagant and exorbitant opinions which were said to be inserted in them.[1] A few days after this personal question was settled, the King gave his final decision on the disputed jurisdiction, which was, as might have been expected, in favour of the Court of Chancery.

Coke before the Council.

June 30. His suspension.

July 18. Order on the *præmunire*.

[1] Proceedings in Council, June 26 and 30, 1616 (*Biographia Britannica*, Art. Coke, Note R). The clause concerning the Reports is as follows: "Lastly, that during this vacation, while he hath time to live peaceably and dispose himself at home, he take into consideration his books of Reports, wherein (as His Majesty is informed) there be many exorbitant and extravagant opinions set down and published for positive and good law. And if, in the review and reading thereof, he find anything fit to be altered or amended, the correcting thereof is left to his own discretion. Amongst other things His Majesty was not well pleased with the title of that book, wherein he styled himself Chief Justice of England, whereas he

On the question of the jurisdiction of that Court it has been universally admitted that Coke was in the wrong. It is his conduct in the case of commendams that has secured him the approbation of posterity. If his attempt to erect the judges into a tribunal of arbitration between the King and the nation deservedly failed, the position assigned to the judges by James and Bacon was one which a self-respecting man might reasonably object to occupy. No doubt it seems a very innocent demand that when the judges had to decide on questions affecting the royal authority they should not do so without first hearing what the King had to say on the subject. Just in the same way, at the time when the Benevolence was levied, it had seemed a very innocent demand that a subject should voluntarily make a present to the King if he chose to do so. In practice neither of these demands was quite as innocent as it appeared to be. The sovereign was the dispenser of favours, and was capable of making his ill-will felt in many ways. When that sovereign was voluble and opinionative, it was hard for the judges, unless they were men of more than ordinary firmness, to hold their own in his presence. To the King's question whether he would stay proceedings in matters concerning the Crown till he had consulted with the King, Coke's reply had been that, when that case should be, he would do that which should be fit for a judge to do! The answer may easily be criticised as evading the question rather than looking it in the face. Yet this very evasion is the clearest evidence that he did well to resist on this point. If a man, so unbending and arrogant as Coke, did not venture to give a clearer answer, what chance was there that ordinary judges would stand up against the influence of the Crown put forward under the guise of argument? Coke was clearly in the right in instinctively feeling that the true place for a judge was on the Bench, not in the council chamber of the King.

How far was Coke in the right?

could challenge no more than Chief Justice of the King's Bench. And having corrected what in his discretion he found meet in those Reports, His Majesty's pleasure was that he should bring the same privately to himself, that he might consider thereof as in his princely judgment should be found expedient."

The order to Coke to review his reports was enough to exasperate the meekest of men. He had been attacked as a judge: he was now attacked as a lawyer. It was not till after three months' consideration that he sent in a statement that he had detected five errors in the reports.[1] They were, however, of so trivial a nature that their selection was looked upon as equivalent to the denial of the existence of any real mistakes whatever. Such a treatment of the King's requirements was a mere evasion of the points really at issue. What James complained of was, not that the reports had been published with an insufficient list of errata, but that they contained doctrines subversive of that which he considered to be the constitution of the country.[2] Bacon's advice, so far as it can be ascertained,[3] was that the authority of the other eleven judges should be opposed to the authority of Coke, and that with this object they should be formally asked to declare their opinions to the Council. James, however, did not accept Bacon's recommendation.[4] He was impatient to bring the question to an issue, and he wished to keep in his own hands the right of dismissing a judge without giving account to anyone. Coke was accordingly asked to express his opinion on the five alleged errors.

Oct. 2. Coke reviews his reports.

The result insufficient.

On October 21 Coke replied, practically disavowing his opinions. This submission removed one obstacle in the way of his keeping his seat; but it did not remove the main difficulty. His whole course as a judge had been marked by a firm determination to place himself in opposition to the Government, and James could bear that opposition no longer. On November 10, he announced his intention to remove the Chief Justice from the Bench, and on the 15th Coke was formally informed that he no longer held the office which he had magnified so highly.[5]

Oct. 21. Coke retracts his opinion.

Nov. 15. Coke dismissed.

[1] Ellesmere and Bacon to the King, Oct. 2, *Letters and Life*, vi. 76.
[2] See Bacon's list of innovations, *ibid.* vi. 90.
[3] *Ibid.* vi. 78.
[4] Villiers to Bacon, Oct. 3, *ibid.* vi. 79.
[5] *Ibid.* vi. 94.

Coke's successor was Sir Henry Montague, whose constant agreement with the Court on the various questions at issue since the accession of James had recommended him to favour, and who, if far inferior to Coke in legal knowledge, had at least the advantage of greater suavity of manners.

Montague, Chief Justice.

On November 18, Montague took the oaths of office in the presence of the Chancellor, who had recently been rewarded by the King for his long and faithful service with the title of Viscount Brackley. In addressing the new Chief Justice, he advised him to follow in the steps of his grandfather, who had occupied the office to which he now succeeded. He was unable to forbear from recommending him to avoid the example of his immediate predecessor, in a tone which showed that his thoughts were occupied more fully with his quarrel with Coke than with the business immediately in hand.[1] The lawyers of Westminster Hall, who were almost to a man devoted to Coke, whose integrity and ability they respected, avenged themselves by reminding one another of the saying, 'Many Montagues, but one Markham,' which had once been current, to the disparagement of the new Chief Justice's ancestor. In the same spirit, they amused themselves by translating the Chancellor's title of Brackley into the more intelligible one of Break-law.

The Chancellor's speech to Montague.

The cause of Coke's dismissal was briefly expressed in a jest which was widely circulated at the time. Four P's, it was said, had been the ruin of Coke: Pride, Prohibitions, Præmunire, and Prerogative. There were some who ignorantly ascribed his fall to the anger aroused by the discoveries which he supposed himself to have made in the course of the investigation into Overbury's murder. Sympathy, too, was awakened by the treatment which he received at the hands of men who were far his inferiors. It was remarked that, when he was called upon to answer to the questions put to him on the subject of his reports, he was not even asked to sit down, and that Ellesmere's servants went so far as to neglect to take off their hats in his presence. To the men who took

Popular feeling.

[1] Moore's *Rep.* 826.

pleasure in insulting the fallen judge, Bacon stood in honourable contrast. He disliked his character, and he was desirous of depriving him of the power of doing harm to the King's service. But, in spite of the many insults which he had received, he never ceased to treat him with respect, and was often heard to say that a man of his learning was not to be found every day, and that it was easier to mar him than to make him.[1]

Importance of this step.

By the deprivation of Coke, James obtained at a blow all that he had been seeking by more devious courses. There was no longer any necessity of urging the acceptance of the writ *de rege inconsulto* when the Common Law judges themselves held their offices practically, as well as theoretically, at the good pleasure of the Sovereign. From henceforward the prerogative was safe from attack in the courts of law. From henceforth, however, it also stood on its own merits, and could no longer expect to obtain that moral support which it had hitherto received from the decisions pronounced from the Bench by judges who were, comparatively at least with the men who held office subsequently to Coke's disgrace, independent of the favours and the anger of the Crown.

Rise of Villiers.

The solution—at least for the time—of the constitutional question raised by Coke's opposition, had been coincident with the rapid rise of Villiers into all, and more than all, of the favour which had been enjoyed by Somerset. In January 1616, he had been made Master of the Horse ; in April he became a Knight of the Garter. It was not intended to give him any official appointment. He was only to deal indirectly with state affairs. He would be, in fact, the King's private secretary, supplying him with information on what was passing, receiving suits and petitions in his name, and acting rather as his familiar companion than as an officer of State.

For us who know what was Villiers' subsequent career, and who are able to see that it was unreasonable to expect that any man should occupy his position without encroaching upon what was justly regarded by the Privy Councillors as their own peculiar sphere, it is difficult to realise the satisfac-

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 26, Nov. 14, *Court and Times*, i. 431, 439.

tion with which the rise of the new favourite was regarded by those who had looked upon the old one with such thorough detestation. And yet there must have been something extremely fascinating in the young man who had thus risen at a bound to the highest position in the realm. It was agreed by all that he was, as yet, modest and affable, that his hands were free from the bribery with which those of Somerset had been soiled, and that he had been supported by the men most opposed to the proposed connection with Spain. If his education had been neglected, he was not deficient in quickness of apprehension, and he was ready enough to apply for instruction to those who were able to afford him information on any point. Abbot looked upon him with the fondness of a father, and hoped that his influence would be steadily exerted in favour of the cause which he himself had so much at heart. Bacon, though he would have preferred that there should be no favourite at Court at all, must have thought of him, as he had once thought of Essex, as the man who might direct the Government into that nobler path in which he would gladly have seen it walking.

It was to Bacon that Villiers applied to be his instructor in political affairs, in order that he might have sufficient acquaintance with such subjects to satisfy the King. Bacon replied to his application by a letter of advice,[1] which, more than any other of his works, places before us the strength and the weakness of his statesmanship. After giving the young man some good counsel as to the best mode of dealing with suits brought to him for presentation to the King, he proceeded to state his opinion on the affairs of the Church. Since he had written his Treatise on the Pacification of the Church, twelve years before,

Bacon's advice to Sir George Villiers.

His views on Church affairs,

[1] A Letter of Advice, Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 13. See Mr. Spedding's remarks on the two forms of this paper. I do not feel sure that this first form has not been tampered with in the process of editing after the Restoration. Such a phrase as 'To resist an invading enemy, or to suppress rebels, the subject may, and must, be commanded out of the counties where they inhabit,' at once suggests a reminiscence of the controversy on the Militia Bill.

times had changed. To all outward appearance at least, the policy adopted at Hampton Court had been successful. The questions about forms and ceremonies had dropped out of sight for the time. Good Protestants no longer saw Popery in a surplice or in a ring. Nonconformity still had its adherents, but they were far less prominent than they had been at the close of Elizabeth's reign. Bacon, therefore, who had formerly stood forward as the advocate of moderate change, now declared himself to be opposed to all innovation.

Bacon then turned to speak of the administration of justice. The laws, he said, were the true arbiters between the King and his people, and between one subject and another, and care must therefore be taken that nothing should be done to bring them into disrepute.[1]

on the laws of England,

Bacon's view of the functions of Parliament was that which he had often before expressed. It was, according to him, a great council occasionally summoned to advise the King in matters of weight and difficulty. It was to prepare laws, which were without force till the King gave life to them by his assent. That it should attempt to overrule the policy of the Government was an idea to which it did not occur to Bacon even to allude.

on Parliament,

On the other hand, the Privy Council was a standing body. It should be composed of men of ability, and of varied knowledge, in order that they might be ready to give an opinion upon every kind of business.

on the Privy Council.

Bacon then, having said all that he could on constitutional questions, proceeded to give his advice on the policy which ought to be adopted by the King. If peace were to be preserved, England must be prepared for war. In order that the country might be well provided with necessaries, those engaged in trade must avoid the introduction of mere superfluities, and colonies must be established in unoccupied lands, which would be serviceable to the commerce of the mother country.

Policy of the Government.

[1] The paragraph, in which Villiers is entreated not to interfere by word or letter in any cause depending in a court of justice, only appears in the second form of the advice written after 1619, when Bacon had had personal experience of the proceedings of Villiers.

This advice reveals the advantages which Bacon expected to reap from the Government, and which would, as he feared, be unattainable from the unorganised and clamorous Parliament to which he had been accustomed. He was led astray by his habit of regarding great reforms as things to be done by the courage and wisdom of the few ; whilst he was blind to the value of free political life in raising the many to appreciate, and to adopt as their own, the truths which they would never have discovered of themselves.

Whilst this paper was in preparation Villiers was raised to the peerage. On August 27 he became Viscount Villiers and Baron Whaddon.[1] No sooner did Bacon hear of his proposed advancement than he wrote to adjure him to dedicate himself to the public welfare, and to distinguish himself, above all who had served the Crown in a confidential capacity, by his care in recommending none but men of ability to office. At the same time, he took the opportunity of reminding him that there could be no excuse for him if he misused the advantages of his position in order to enrich himself, as the King had taken care that he should have no need to complain of want of means to support the dignity of the peerage.[2]

Villiers created a Viscount.

It had been at first intended that Sherborne, which had again reverted to the Crown by the attainder of Somerset, should pass into the possession of Villiers. Villiers, however, refused to build his fortune upon the ruins of his predecessor in favour,[3] and Sherborne was given to Digby, who had no such scruples. Villiers may, perhaps, have been influenced by an opinion current at the time, that the possessors of that estate were doomed to misfortune, in consequence of a curse which had been pronounced by an early Bishop of Salisbury upon all who should presume to possess it in defiance of the rights of the see.[4] The manor had certainly, of late years, passed rapidly from hand to hand. Somerset had resold it to the Crown almost immediately after it came into his

Grant of lands to him.

[1] *Carew Papers*, 43.
[2] Bacon to Villiers, Aug. 12, *Letters and Life*, vi. 6.
[3] Castle to Miller, Oct. 26, *Court and Times*, i. 429.
[4] *Carew Papers*, Appendix, No. II.

possession, and Prince Henry, to whom it was soon afterwards given, died before he could fulfil the intention, which he was said to have entertained, of restoring it to Raleigh.[1] Somerset repurchased it, but only enjoyed it for a few months, a circumstance which contributed to invest it still more, in the popular eye, with the character of being an unlucky possession. Whatever may have been the motives of Villiers' refusal he was not allowed to be the loser. Lands were given him of more than double the value of the estate which he had declined.[2]

He is assisted by Bacon.

Bacon took care to put himself at the favourite's disposal in the negotiations relating to these arrangements. In all questions which arose, he adopted his interests, and defended them as warmly as if they had been his own. Nor did he show any less zeal in fighting his battle in a dispute concerning an office of which he had obtained a grant from the King.

Roper's office in the King's Bench.

Grant of its reversion to Somerset and Harrington.

The enrolment of the pleas in the Court of King's Bench was attached to an office which had long been held by Sir John Roper. In 1612, the reversion of this office was granted by the King to Somerset, at that time known as Viscount Rochester, and to the son of Lord Harrington, who were, after Roper's death, to share between them the profits derived from the fees. As, however, it was not desirable that the names of men of rank should appear on the face of the grant, each of the real holders was to nominate a person, to whom his patent was to be granted ; and these nominees were in turn to enter into bonds to pay over the proceeds of the office to the great men. As a reward for allowing their names to be thus made use of, each of the nominees was to receive a twelfth part of the fees. Somerset named Robert Heath, a lawyer as yet of no great eminence ; Harrington's choice fell upon Whitelocke. The

[1] So it was believed. Yet Prince Henry had the land in his hands for more than a year.

[2] Sherborne was exchanged for land valued at 32,000*l.* The total value of the land given to Villiers was 80,000*l.* Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 12, *Court and Times*, i. 425. Bacon to Villiers, Nov. 29, *Letters and Life*, vi. 118.

patents were, therefore, made out in the names of Heath and Whitelocke.[1] Early in 1614, Harrington, who had a few months before succeeded to his father's title, died, without leaving children; and his sister, the Countess of Bedford, made over to Somerset the share in the reversion which had become hers. Before the bargain was completed, Somerset, who was unwilling to charge himself with the expense of more than one person to execute the duties of the office, required that Whitelocke should be bought off. Accordingly, Lady Bedford gave to her brother's nominee a sum of 800*l.*, in return for which he covenanted to surrender the office whenever Somerset might request him to do so. From that time, therefore, Whitelocke, though his name was still to be found in the grant, had nothing more than a nominal connection with the reversion.[2]

It comes altogether into Somerset's hands.

Soon after Coke took his seat as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in 1613, he had given his consent to the arrangement made in favour of the two noblemen.[3] It is, however, probable that, at one time or other, he expressed his disapprobation of such a manner of disposing of the office, and that he was anxious to sequester its profits for the sake of increasing the salaries of the judges of the court. If it was as early as in 1613 that he attempted to resist the King in his claim to dispose of the place, he found it necessary to give way at once. If, on the other hand, it was not till after the fall of Somerset that he attempted to get possession of the office for the judges, he was not long in learning that his wishes would not be granted. At all events when, in January 1616, a false report was brought to him of Roper's death, he immediately declared his intention of no longer prolonging a contest which was certain to prove ineffectual, as it was by this time known that the King intended to bestow upon Villiers the reversion which had fallen into his hands by Somerset's attainder.[4]

Coke's resistance.

[1] July 7, 1612, Pat. 10 Jac. I. Part 14.

[2] Whitelocke, *Lib. Fam.* 29, 46.

[3] On Nov. 4, 1613. Whitelocke, *Lib. Fam.* 59.

[4] The story, as told in Roger Coke's *Detection* (1719), i. 92, places Coke's resistance in the autumn of 1616, and makes it out to have been

Villiers was well pleased to receive the reversion, but he would have been better pleased if he could have entered into immediate possession. He was not without hope of being able to gain this point too. He knew that Roper had set his heart upon a peerage, and that when, in 1612, he had attempted to bargain with Somerset for a seat in the House of Lords, he had declared his readiness to relinquish his office as soon as his wishes were granted. Somerset had turned a deaf ear to his proposals,[1] but he might find that the new favourite was not so squeamish as his predecessor had been.

Negotiation between Villiers and Roper.

A bargain was accordingly struck between Roper and Villiers. When, however, the time arrived for carrying it out a new difficulty arose. James was willing to raise Roper to the peerage, but he was himself in want of money to meet the expenses of Hay's embassy,[2] and required a payment of 10,000*l.* before he would confer the honour. Roper paid the money, and became Lord Teynham, but, naturally enough, refused to relinquish the profits of his office as well. All that he could be induced to do was to engage to put Villiers in possession, upon the understanding that the fees were to be paid over to himself during his life. It was true that by this arrangement Villiers would be no richer than he had

Terms of Roper's surrender.

the cause of his final dismissal. The narrative is full of blunders, so that an additional mistake more or less is of no great consequence. It is unaccountable, if the date were correct, how Chamberlain can have missed such a story, and how Bacon could have avoided referring to it in his letter to Villiers of Nov. 29. Besides, we know that, in October, Coke's friends expected that he would be allowed to take his place on the bench for the express purpose of receiving Roper's surrender, which would surely have been most unlikely if he were then the main obstacle to the surrender being effected (Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 26, *Court and Times*, i. 431). On the other hand, we know, from Bacon's letter of Jan. 22, 1616 (*Letters and Life*, v. 229), that there had already been resistance on Coke's part, of which we have no particulars. I have, therefore, taken it for granted that this is the resistance of which a distorted image is found in the *Detection*.

[1] *Egerton Papers*, 455. I suppose there can be no doubt that 'Sir J. Ross' is a misprint for 'Sir J. Roper.'

[2] See Vol. II. p. 393.

been before, but he would perhaps be exposed to fewer risks than if he had continued to be a mere expectant. As in Somerset's case, the favourite's name was not to appear on the face of the grant. Two nominees were to be designated, who, after Lord Teynham's death, were to account for the profits to Villiers, reserving only a fixed proportion for themselves.

He wishes to nominate Whitelocke as one of the holders.

Here, however, another difficulty arose. Teynham demanded to have the nomination of one of the holders of the office, and it was known that he intended to propose that Whitelocke's name should again be inserted in the grant.[1] Villiers, on the other hand, wished to name two dependents of his own. Heath, who had transferred his services from Somerset to himself, might be welcome to remain, but the second place he had destined for Shute, a lawyer, who made up for the indifference of his character by his devotion to the favourite. Teynham, however, pleaded hard for Whitelocke, and most of the officials who had to do with the arrangement were inclined to give way. Bacon, however, took up Villiers' cause, and did all that he could to induce Whitelocke to surrender the original grant. He told him that he hoped better things for him than such a poor office as the one in question; and finding that Whitelocke paid little attention to his persuasions, he even condescended to threaten him with the consequences of the King's displeasure if he still held out.

Whitelocke withdraws his claim.

Under these circumstances Whitelocke thought it better to withdraw his claim. Bacon perhaps reconciled his conduct to himself by remembering that no positive wrong was done to Whitelocke, as he had already sold his interest in the office to Somerset for 800*l.*[2]

[1] It is not quite clear whether Teynham expected to gain any advantage by the nomination. He probably only wished to do a good turn to Whitelocke.

[2] Whitelocke, *Lib. Fam.* 57. Bacon to Villiers, Nov. 29, 1616 (*Letters and Life*, v. 115). I suppose the question was whether the deed of 1614 had constituted the office Somerset's property, so as to be forfeited by his attainder. Whitelocke (p. 46) says that in it he covenanted with Somerset 'to surrender up the office at his request, and not execute it but by warrant under his hand and seal.'

Whitelocke's resistance had postponed the arrangement which Bacon desired till after the decision had been taken to remove Coke from his post. Bacon was not altogether dissatisfied with this delay, as he knew that if Whitelocke continued obstinate, Coke might, if he retained his office, be able to throw obstacles in the way of Villiers and his nominees, and he suspected that he would be likely to use his influence in favour of the original holders, whose tenure of office had been confirmed by himself.[1] Before, however, the new Chief Justice was installed, Bacon took the precaution of obtaining from him an engagement to admit Heath and Shute to the office which Lord Teynham was ready to vacate. Montague made no difficulty in giving his consent, especially as it was agreed that the office should be burdened with a pension of 500*l.* a year, to be paid to himself. On November 19, the day upon which he took his seat, Whitelocke and Heath surrendered their grant into his hands. Upon this Heath and Shute were at once admitted, and Teynham was put off with an agreement that in case either of the two should die during his lifetime, he should be allowed to fill up the vacancy.[2]

Lord Teynham's office made over to the nominees of Villiers.

It was at this moment, when all opposition had been checked, that the King's only remaining son reached an age at which he began to be capable of taking an interest in political affairs. On November 4, 1616, when he was within a few days of completing his sixteenth year, Prince Charles, who had long been known as the Duke of York, was created Prince of Wales. Few anecdotes of his boyhood have been preserved. Every now and then some letter-writer mentions him in terms of commendation; but the absence of any notice of such striking acts and sayings as those which had won for his brother an enduring place in the heart

Nov. 4. Creation of the Prince of Wales.

[1] This seems to be the meaning of the passage referring to Coke in the letter cited above. But the words are rather obscure. Whitelocke's silence is an additional argument against the supposition that Coke had himself opposed Heath and Shute.

[2] Whitelocke, *Lib. Fam.* 58; *Coram Rege Roll.* Mich. Term, 14 Jac. I. Rot. 200, *R. O.*; *Grant Book*, p. 189.

of the nation was perhaps the natural result of the steady but somewhat backward boyhood which had followed upon the years of weakness from which he had suffered. The lameness with which he was afflicted in his early years had passed away, under the judicious treatment of Lady Cary, who refused, in defiance of the advice which was so liberally offered to her, to attempt to strengthen his limbs by the use of iron supports ; but the physical weakness of his childhood seems to have left its impress upon his tenacious and irresolute mind.

Yet, even with all his defects, it is not impossible that, if he had been ten or fifteen years older, he might have learned other lessons than those which brought him to the scaffold. As it was, at the time when his intellect opened to receive the instructions of those who were around him, the fulness of the Elizabethan culture was already gone. In the spring of that very year in which Bacon was bringing his long controversy with Coke to an issue, and was busily engaged in divorcing politics from law, the greatest of the lights of the age which was fading away was laid in his quiet grave at Stratford. The literature, the theology, and the statesmanship which had been known to the heroes of Elizabeth, were gone. The harmony of their many-sided life was at an end. In its place was rising strife between opposing theories, and opposition between definite systems of thought and action. There has, perhaps, never been a moment in the history of England at which such a youth as Charles could enter upon manhood with less chance of understanding the real nature of the duties which he was called upon to fulfil. Incapable of forming large and comprehensive views for himself, there was little hope of his being led in the right path by others. Even the greatest and the best of those who took part in his father's counsels were men whose thoughts lay apart from the main current of the life of the nation ; and it is never with impunity that such a separation grows up between a people and its rulers.

End of the Elizabethan age.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE TREATY

When, in August 1616, Hay's mission to Paris was followed by a rupture of the negotiations for a marriage between the English Prince and the Princess Christina, the Spanish Government knew that it would soon have to consider seriously a request for the Infanta Maria. Already, on July 17, James had assured Sarmiento of his readiness to give all satisfaction in matters of religion; and Villiers, turning round on the statesmen who had borne him to power, had told the Spaniard that he wished nothing so much as to see the marriage accomplished, and that he was ready to build his fortunes on the Spanish alliance.[1]

Aug. Philip expects a proposal for the Infanta.

July 17. James assures Sarmiento of his desire for the alliance.

Philip, therefore, once more applied to the Pope for advice. The reply which he received in October was most discouraging. Paul said that his opinion was still unchanged. He would not consent to grant the necessary dispensation upon any terms which did not include the conversion of the Prince, and the legalised exercise of the Catholic religion in England. Still, if the King of Spain thought it right to listen to any proposition short of this, he would promise to give it his most serious consideration. More than this he could not say.[2]

Aug. Philip's fresh application to the Pope.

Oct. The Pope's answer.

[1] *Francisco de Jesus*, 15.

[2] Philip III. to Cardinal Borja, $\frac{\text{Aug. } 31}{\text{Sept. } 10}$; Cardinal Borja to Philip III., Oct. $\frac{11}{21}$, *Francisco de Jesus*, 13, 14. Note.

It is not unlikely that, if Philip had been able to consult his personal inclinations, he would at this point have put an end to the negotiations. But he knew that to do so would give grievous offence to the King of England, and he could ill afford to alienate James at a time when a considerable party in the English Court, as well as in the nation, were eagerly striving to involve England in a war with Spain.

Once more the Theologians were summoned to Madrid to take counsel over the proposed marriage. They were in a different position from those who had been brought up for a similar purpose three years before. The Pope's opposition was no longer a secret, and it was now known that James, to say the least, had shown no remarkable eagerness to alleviate the lot of the English Catholics. It is no wonder, therefore, that this new junta was unanimous in requiring some unexceptionable guarantee that James would perform his promises. The remission of the penalties imposed upon the English Catholics must be confirmed by some solemn and public act. Nor would even this be enough. If James expected to see the Infanta in England at all, he must carry his promises into effect before her arrival. She must be detained in Spain for three years in order that the value of the engagements of the English Government might be put to the test of actual experience. When the three years were at an end, the Prince was to come in person to Madrid to fetch away his bride, as it was not unlikely that his conversion might be effected during his visit.[1] The marriage treaty was to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and not a penny of the portion was to be paid till its stipulations had been actually carried out in England. The demands which followed were no less exacting in their nature. James and his son were to bind themselves not only to abstain from employing force to compel the Infanta to change her religion, but to abstain even from the use of persuasion. In other words, Charles was to promise never to speak to his wife on religious subjects at all. There was also to be a large church in London open to all the world, and severe

1617. The Theologians again consulted.

[1] "Porque puede ser algun medio para la conversion de aquel Principe, y pertenece á la decencia y autoridad de la Señora Infanta."

punishment was to be inflicted upon those who in any way insulted the worshippers. The priests were to be allowed to walk about London in their ecclesiastical dress, and were to be placed under similar protection.[1]

Whilst Spanish theologians at Madrid were forming schemes for the conversion of England, the Spanish ambassador in London was watching the progress of the counter plot by which English politicians were hoping to bring about a state of warfare between the two states. In the summer and autumn of 1616, Raleigh was engaged in preparing for his voyage. As soon as it was known that he was bound for the Orinoco a fierce controversy arose, the echoes of which are still sounding in our ears. Sarmiento at once protested against the voyage. The whole of Guiana, he said, belonged to his master, and, besides that, he did not believe that Raleigh had any intention of going to Guiana at all. When he was once across the Atlantic, he would turn pirate, and the Mexico fleet or the Spanish towns on the coast would fall a prey to his rapacity. If he were merely going in search of a mine, what need was there for such extensive preparations? The King of Spain would gladly furnish him with an escort to conduct him in safety to any spot which he might choose to name, and would finally bring him back to England with all the gold and silver that he could find. As might have been expected, Raleigh declined this obliging offer.[2] He stoutly declared that he had no intention of turning pirate. The mine was no fiction : it was to be found not far from the banks of the Orinoco. A visit to it would not be attended with the slightest infringement of the rights of the King of Spain ; for it 'did not belong to his Majesty, but was at a great distance from his territories.'[3]

Aug. 1616. Sarmiento's protest against Raleigh's voyage

Raleigh's language about the mine.

[1] Consulta of the Junta of Theologians, Jan. $\frac{16}{26}$. *Simancas MSS.* 2518, fol. 23. Articles drawn up by the Theologians, Feb. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1617. *Francisco de Jesus.* App. 5.

[2] *Raleigh's Apology.*

[3] He said, 'que él con sus deudos y amigos haria una armada y iria à a Guiana junto al Rio Arenoco, donde dezia que avia una mina de oro

No doubt these words are not incompatible with the assertion, made by Raleigh after his return, that all Guiana belonged to the King of England, by virtue of the cession made by the natives in 1595. As, however, it is impossible to find either a trace of this theory in his language before he set out, or evidence of the resistance which it would inevitably have provoked, it is well to examine whether his words can be justified by other considerations.

Tenure by occupation.

The fact was that James, when left to a sober consideration of the matter, was not likely to accept either the extreme view that all Guiana belonged to England, or the extreme view that all America belonged to Spain. He had always maintained consistently that occupancy alone gave dominion in America, and he had never, for an instant, acknowledged the claim put forward by Spain to exclusive sovereignty in the Indies. He had, therefore, without difficulty, granted charters to the colonists of Virginia, and had given permission for the formation of an English settlement in that part of Guiana which lies to the eastward of the Essequibo.

But it was one thing to assert a right to colonise unoccupied land; it was another thing to decide what land was really unoccupied. What it was that constituted occupancy was the very question upon which no two Governments were agreed, and upon which the opinion of every Government varied [1] in proportion as it expected to profit by a strict or a lax interpretation of certain rules of the old Roman law, that is to say, of rules which had been sensible enough as long as they were applied to the case of a man who picked up a piece of gold in a forest, but which were utterly inapplicable to the acquisition of large tracts of territory.[2] If James did not choose either to adopt the old

que no se avia descubierto por nadie, ni era de su Majestad, antes muy distante de tierras suyas.'—Minutes of Sarmiento's Despatch, Aug. 23, Sept. 2, *Simancas MSS.* 2850, fol. 28.

[1] Thus James, who had authorised the Essequibo settlement, remonstrated with the Dutch for establishing a factory at the mouth of the Hudson, though, at the time, there were no English nearer than Jamestown.

[2] Maine's *Ancient Law*, 248.

maritime theory of 'No peace beyond the line,' or to base his claim to Guiana on the cession by the Indians in 1595, it was surely his duty to come to some resolution on this knotty point. If the occupancy of a settlement made the ground which it covered the property of the colonists, how far did their rights extend? Was it to a distance of three miles, or of thirty, or of three hundred? The details of the expedition might safely be left to the commander, but it was the business of the Government to lay down the principles on which he would be judged on his return.[1]

Inexpediency of the voyage.

But whatever difficulty there may have been in determining the question of right, there ought not to have been the slightest doubt that, on the simple ground of expediency, it was James's duty to set his face decidedly against the projected expedition. Since Raleigh's first visit to Guiana, an event had occurred affecting the whole colonial policy of England. In 1595, the arrogant pretensions of Spain to dominion over the vast regions which stretched from the Straits of Magellan to the Arctic Seas had not been overthrown. In combating this preposterous theory, it was a matter of indifference whether the right of England to a share in the Western Continent were asserted on the banks of the Orinoco or on the banks of the St. Lawrence. But, before 1616, the claim of Spain had practically broken down. Virginia had been colonised. It had, therefore, become the duty of an English statesman to foster the seed which had been nurtured in the face of every obstacle, rather than to sprinkle broadcast over the two continents an indefinite number of colonies, all of them too weak to stand without incessant aid from the mother country. For, whatever temptation might be lurking in the promise of the golden mine, it was certain that the farther the two nations could be kept apart, the better it would be for both of them.

Such considerations, however, were far from the mind of

[1] In fact, I suppose, sovereignty over new colonial territory can only rest upon the tacit or expressed consent of colonising nations. Native cession s a mere farce, and its absence is treated as unworthy of consideration by those who are strong enough to do without it.

James. As usual, he was only looking about for the easiest way out of the difficulty. On the one hand, Sarmiento protested that a war with Spain would be the inevitable result of the voyage. On the other hand, the friends of Raleigh at Court—and they were neither few nor without influence—protested no less loudly that it would be folly to throw away such an opportunity of benefiting the nation and filling the Exchequer. James was unwilling either to take the trouble of forming an opinion for himself, or to give offence by deciding the question one way or the other. He was a man, as a keen observer afterwards remarked, 'very quick-sighted in discerning difficulties, and very slow in mastering them, and untying the knots which he had made.'[1] He was, therefore, only confirmed in his original resolution. He would throw the whole responsibility on Raleigh; and Raleigh had plainly stated that he had no intention of injuring a single Spaniard in the Indies. Accordingly, when, on August 26, James issued a commission to Raleigh, giving him authority to take command of the expedition, and authorising him to visit such territories as were not under the dominion of any Christian prince, not only were the ordinary words implying the royal grace and favour to the commander sedulously erased,[2] but he was expressly stated to be 'under the peril of the law.'[3] The meaning of this was plain. James would wash his hands of the whole matter. Raleigh had declared that the mine of which he was in search was not within the territories of Philip. If he had chosen to tell a lie, let him take the consequences. That there might be no mistake, he was called upon to give security that he would not hurt any subjects of the King of Spain, and was plainly given to understand that, if these orders were transgressed, he would pay the penalty with his head.[4]

Commission given to Raleigh.

[1] *Clarendon*, ed. 1849, i. 16.

[2] *Edwards*, i. 591.

[3] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvi. 789.

[4] "Escrive el Conde de Gondomar que aquel Rey le avia asegurado que no saldria Gualtero sin dar seguridad de que no haria daño á ningun vasallo de su Magestad."—Minutes of Sarmiento's despatch, Oct. $\frac{2}{12}$, 1616, *Simancas MSS.* 2850, fol. 28. Four months later Winwood assured the Venetian ambassador 'che era ferma mente del Rè che il Ralè andasse il

Such was the compact by which James attempted to close his eyes to the future. He had either refused, in gross dereliction of duty, to investigate the conditions under which the voyage was to be made, or if he did investigate them, he did not draw the obvious conclusion that the spot which Raleigh proposed to visit was at least so near to land claimed by Spain that it would be hard for one whose opinions on the righteousness of all attacks on Spain were what Raleigh's notoriously were, to avoid coming into collision with the Spainards. For James there was to be everything to gain. For Raleigh there was to be everything to lose.

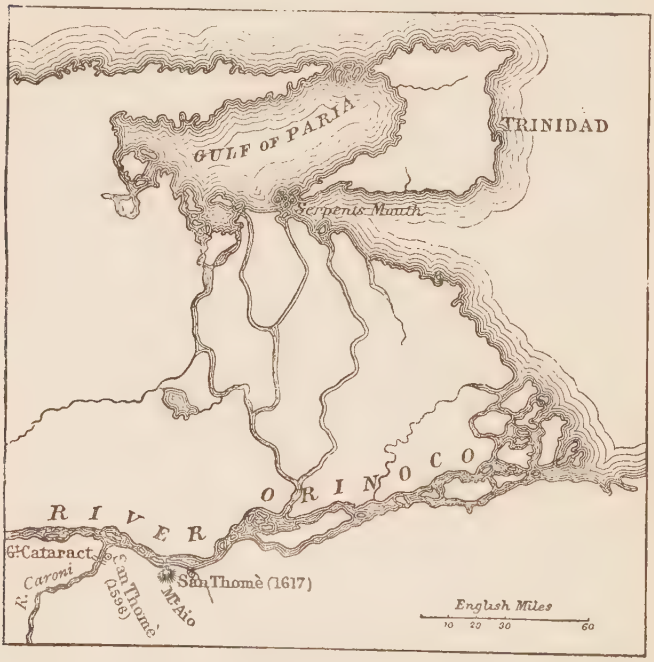
Both Raleigh and James at fault.

If Raleigh's fault was great, so also was his temptation. Behind him was the gloomy monotony of his prison-house. Before him was the free life upon the seas, the joys of active enterprise, the chance of riches and glory. Would not success atone for any possible disobedience?

It can hardly be maintained that Raleigh did not look forward to a combat with the Spaniards as at least a very probable contingency. But it is not necessary to suppose that he regarded it as a certainty. He had every reason to believe that no Spanish settlement would be reached at any point lower than the mouth of the Caroni, and as the mine which had been pointed out to Keymis was situated some miles before the junction of the rivers was reached, he had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that it would be possible to reach the spot without a conflict with the Spaniards. It might well happen that the settlers at San Thomè would hear nothing of his arrival for some little time; and, even if they did, they

suo viaggio, nel quale, se avesse contravenuto alle sue instruttioni che li sono stati dati, aveva la testa con che pagharebbe la disubbidienza.'—Lionello to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Jan. 31,}}{\text{Feb. 10,}}$ 1617. Winwood's name is important, as we can be sure that Raleigh knew whatever Winwood had to tell; and with this falls to the ground the whole fabric of the theory that Raleigh sailed in ignorance that an attack on Spaniards would bring him to the scaffold. Besides, as Mr. Spedding has pointed out, Raleigh admitted, in his own journal, that he had told the Governor of Lanzerote that he 'had no purpose to invade any of the Spanish King's territories, having received from the King . . . express commandment to the contrary.'—Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 345, note 2.

would hardly be rash enough to make an unprovoked attack upon superior numbers. He would thus be enabled to complete his search without molestation, though it was unlikely



that he would be allowed to enter upon any permanent operations. So much, no doubt, he was willing to leave to chance.[1]

[1] It is curious that none of Raleigh's biographers have seen the importance of fixing the locality of the mine. There can be no doubt that it was the same which had been pointed out to Keymis, in 1595, by the Indian guide, and not the place at the mouth of the Caroni where Raleigh picked up specimens. It is of the former that Keymis speaks, on Indian authority, as being 'of all others, the richest and most plentiful.' Every indication points to the mine for which Raleigh was looking as being some way below the junction of the rivers. Berreo's town he describes as being two leagues to the westward of the mine, *i.e.* above it (Raleigh to Keymis, *Cayley*, ii.

As to the mine itself Raleigh's information rested upon very imperfect evidence. An Indian had pointed it out to Keymis,

125). In another place he says the mine is just past the mountain of Aio, which will be found on Sir R. Schomburgk's map some way below the junction. It is perhaps worth noticing that in a chart preserved at Simancas, which had once belonged to Raleigh, the only object on land marked is a mountain about half-way between the head of the delta and the mouth of the Caroni. It is evidently put in so as to catch the eye, and I have little doubt that it was inserted in order to direct the attention of those who were in the secret to the position of the mine. Wilson, too, in his history, speaks of the mine as being known only to Keymis: and Howe, in his continuation of Stowe, says that Raleigh's mine was one "which himself and one Captain Keymis had discovered by the information of the Indians." More conclusive still is the reference in *News of Sir Walter Raleigh*, published in 1618, to "a wonderful great mine" pointed out by Putigma, the Indian guide, who accompanied Keymis in his walk in 1595.

Another most important question relates to the position of San Thomè. It is acknowledged by all that it was founded in 1591 or 1592, at the mouth of the Caroni (Fray Simon, *Setima Noticia*, x. 1), that it had been abandoned in 1595, and that in 1618 it was found considerably lower down the stream, at the spot now known as Guayana Vieja; but it seems to have been taken for granted that the removal took place either at Berreo's return in 1595, after Raleigh left the river, or, at all events, early enough for the fact to have been known in England in 1616; yet it is evident from Keymis's narrative of his voyage in 1596, that, at that time, the Spanish settlement had returned to its old position near the mouth of the Caroni. As to the time of the change no help is to be got from Fray Simon, who, as Sir R. Schomburgk pointed out, fancied that the town was at the mouth of the Caroni, even in 1618, though his own narrative contradicts the supposition. But the whole of the evidence upon Raleigh's voyage is unintelligible unless it is admitted that he knew nothing of the change of site when he sailed from England in 1617. In a letter written after his return (Raleigh to the King, Sept. 24, 1618, *Edwards*, ii. 368), he speaks of the town as "newly set up within three miles of the mine." More conclusive is the letter to Keymis, written before the boats started for the ascent of the river. "I do therefore," writes Raleigh, "advise you to suffer the captains and the companies of the English to pass up to the westward of the mountain of Aio, from whence you have less" [not "no less" as usually printed], "than three miles to the mine, and to lodge and encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there be any town near it." If Raleigh had known of the existence of the town where Keymis found it, that is to say, before the mine was reached, he could not possibly have used this language. Besides the order which he

but neither he nor Keymis had ever visited it. He could hope, and perhaps persuade himself, that he would find there the riches of which he was in search. He was convinced that all would be well with him if he returned with any considerable quantity of gold in his possession. It was hard for him to understand that James, of whom he knew personally very little, would not act as Elizabeth might have been expected to act. She had found no difficulty in rewarding Drake and sharing in his profits, at the same time that she was always ready to express her detestation of piracy. He did not know that, if James was in many respects the inferior of his predecessor, he was her superior in others.

gave to Keymis to throw out a covering party to protect the workers from the Spaniards presupposes that he expected them to appear from the west. The same idea, too, appears in his fear lest the approach of the boats as they passed up the river should be betrayed by an Indian lurking on the banks. If the boats had to pass the town the inhabitants would have seen them with their own eyes. So, too, a passage in a letter, written in England in February 1618, shows that when Raleigh sailed there was no general belief that he would find the Orinoco guarded by Spaniards. "Captain Peter Alley," says the writer, "a two days since arrived from Guiana. He left Sir Walter anchored (I suppose) in his wished haven, from whence advancing higher, *to his greater wonder*, he found the Spaniards all alongst the river."—Lovelace to Carleton, Feb. 10, 1616, *S. P. Dom.* xcvi. 10.

I believe, therefore, that Raleigh expected to find the mine at a little distance from the right bank of the river, and that he had no reason to believe that there was any Spanish settlement short of a spot at the mouth of the Caroni, several miles farther on.

In the King's declaration, written by Bacon, it is said that the mine was movable, for that which was said to be three miles short of San Thomè, was afterwards sought beyond it. Bacon saw the discrepancy, but did not, I think, hit upon the right explanation. It was the town that was movable, not the mine.

Since this note was written Mr. Edwards has argued that the change of site must have been more recent than is generally supposed; but he thinks that "The Englishmen must needs have heard" of the removal, though "their knowledge of the altered geography of the place was very slight." —*Life of Raleigh*, i. 619. It seems to me that the arguments adduced above lead to a still stronger conclusion.

All this time Raleigh's preparations were going bravely on. He had called in the 8,000*l.* which had been lying at interest ever since he had received it as part of the compensation for the Sherborne estate. Lady Raleigh had raised 2,500*l.* by the sale of some lands at Mitcham. 5,000*l.* more were brought together by various expedients, and 15,000*l.* were contributed by Raleigh's friends, who looked upon his enterprise much as men at the present day would regard a promising but rather hazardous investment.[1]

Raleigh's preparations.

As far as the shipping was concerned, no obstacles were to be apprehended. The splendid new vessel in which Raleigh was himself to sail, and which was appropriately named the 'Destiny,' was rapidly approaching completion. But it soon appeared that there would be a difficulty in manning the fleet with suitable crews. The mariners who had followed Raleigh to victory in former days hung back. It was known that he was no longer in favour with the King, and it was, perhaps, suspected that there was little to be gained in following a commander who was liable at any moment to be hurried to the scaffold. He was obliged to look on with sorrow whilst his ships were manned with crews which, if they were not, as he afterwards called them in the bitterness of his heart, 'the scum of men,' were far inferior to those gallant bands which had gathered round him in the days of his prosperity.[2]

And so, chafing as he was under the treatment which he was receiving, rash thoughts took possession of his mind. Even if he had ever intended to conform strictly to his engagements, his head was now running upon wilder fancies. It might be, no doubt, that if he could elude the

His dissatisfaction.

[1] The seven hundred crowns paid by the King towards the building of the 'Destiny' was simply the statutable bounty on ship-building, and is not to be taken as a mark of special favour.

[2] For a discussion on the authenticity of the story of Bacon's alleged conversation with Raleigh, telling him that the commission was equal to a pardon—see Napier, *Sir W. Raleigh*, 235. If it had really occurred, Raleigh would surely have appealed to it in his Apology. Besides, both Bacon and Raleigh knew perfectly well on what terms the voyage was undertaken.

vigilance of the Spaniards, he might succeed, without shedding blood, in bringing back evidence of the existence of the mine. But he knew perfectly well that the chances were terribly against him, and that if a single Spaniard lost his life in the affray, nothing short of the most splendid success would avail him to overcome the King's reluctance to be dragged into a war of which he disapproved. The real thoughts of the man began to ooze out in his conversation. One day, in talking with Bacon, he said something about seizing the Mexico fleet. "But," replied the astonished Attorney-General, "that would be piracy." "Oh no," was Raleigh's ready answer; "did you ever hear of men who are pirates for millions? They who aim at small things are pirates."[1] No doubt this may have been said partly out of bravado, partly, perhaps, to see how the notion would be received. But whatever Bacon may have thought of the matter, Raleigh would never have allowed that an attack upon a Spanish fleet in the Indies was unlawful, in the sense in which it was unlawful to sail into Lisbon or Dieppe with hostile intent in time of peace. He had been educated in the school of the Hawkins's and the Drakes; and, if he had engaged to sail under other conditions, the new principles had never been accepted by him as having any weight of their own. The Mexico fleet would probably carry on board the value of two or three millions sterling in solid gold and silver.[2] If he could bring but a tithe of this into Plymouth Sound, would James be so very anxious to repudiate the maxim of 'No peace beyond the line'?

The Mexico fleet.

Before the year came to an end, an opportunity of bringing about a breach between England and Spain even more easily

[1] In a paper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (April, 1858), Mr. Spedding has shown that the conversation must have taken place before the voyage. Mr. Edwards has adopted the same opinion (i. 591); but places it before the grant of the commission. It is certainly more likely that Raleigh would then be brought into contact with Bacon, but, on the other hand, it does not seem probable that even he would have spoken in this rash way so long as he was hoping for a full pardon.

[2] The fleet of 1618, the year in which Raleigh was in the Indies, brought the value of 2,545,454*l.*—*S. P. Spain.*

than by a voyage to the Indies seemed to have arrived. In 1615, the war which had for some time been raging between Spain and the turbulent Duke of Savoy, had been brought to an end by the treaty of Asti. But though the government at Madrid did not venture to question the obligations into which their representative at Milan had entered in their name, Philip and his ministers were deeply wounded by the necessity of treating with so insignificant a potentate on a footing of equality. The Marquis of Inojosa, by whom the treaty had been signed, was recalled, and Pedro de Toledo, a hotheaded youth, was appointed to succeed him. The new governor had no sooner arrived at Milan, than he openly violated the agreement to which he was bound by the acts of his predecessor. Although a mutual disarmament had been expressly stipulated, Spanish troops were, on various pretexts, kept on foot in the Milanese, and the Duke's demands for the execution of the treaty were met with haughty insolence.[1] In the autumn of 1616 hostilities broke out afresh, and Charles Emmanuel was looking to France and England for help.

The war in Piedmont.

In France the Government was little disposed to render him assistance. The Queen Mother and her favourite, Concini, leaned for support upon Spain. But the Protestants and the warlike aristocracy of either creed were ready to fly to his aid; and the volunteers, who poured over the Alps, were sufficient to enable him to make head against his powerful adversary.

Attitude of the French Government.

At the same time that the Duke was receiving aid from the French nobility, he despatched the Count of Scarnafissi to England, to ask for assistance. James, who had the year before sent him 15,000*l.*, out of his almost empty exchequer,[2] and who, in spite of all that had passed, had no wish to see the Spaniards overrunning the territories of their neighbours, was anxious to do what he could to help him. If there was one thing more than another upon

James takes the part of Savoy.

[1] Wake to Lake, Nov. $\frac{6}{16}$, 1612, *S. P. Savoy.* [2] See Vol. II. p. 321.

which he prided himself, it was upon his assumed position as the peacemaker of Europe. He was piqued at the long delay of the Spanish Government in sending a reply to his pressing overtures on the subject of the marriage—a delay in reality due to the embarrassment into which Philip had been thrown by the Pope's unconciliatory attitude. For a few weeks, therefore, he grew cold in his effusive demonstrations of friendship for Spain. It was rumoured that obstacles had arisen in the way of the marriage treaty, and hopes were held out to the Savoyard that a subsidy of 10,000*l.* a month would be granted to his master. To Lionello, the Venetian ambassador, James went so far as to express his readiness to join a league with Venice, Savoy, Holland, and the German Protestants. He was under obligations, he said, to assist the Duke, if the Spaniards refused to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Asti. He had applied to Sarmiento to know what his master intended to do, and he was now waiting for an answer.[1] Nor did James confine himself to conversations with the Spanish ambassador. Lord Roos, the grandson of the Earl of Exeter, had been already despatched on a special mission to Madrid, ostensibly to congratulate Philip on the recent marriages of his children, but in reality to plead the cause of the Duke of Savoy.[2]

Mission of Lord Roos.

With all that was passing in James's mind Raleigh was doubtless well acquainted through his friend Winwood. He did not lose a minute in seizing the chance thus presented to him. He knew well that if there was one hope dearer than another to the heart of the Savoyard prince, it was the hope of becoming master of Genoa. That great city, once the not unworthy rival of Venice for the commerce of the Mediterranean, had now become a community of money-lenders, always ready to place its wealth at the disposal of the needy Government of Spain. This very winter the bank of St. George had agreed to advance to the Spanish Government a sum equivalent to more than a million

Raleigh's proposed attack upon Genoa,

[1] Lionello to the Doge, Dec. $\frac{19}{29}$, Dec. $\frac{26}{\text{Jan. } 5}$, *Venice MSS.*

[2] Cottington to Carleton, Nov. 8, *S. P. Spain.*

pounds sterling[1]; and there was little doubt that a large part of this loan would be placed at the disposal of the governor of Milan. Nor was it only with her gold that Genoa gave support to the King of Spain. Her noble harbour was always ready to receive his vessels, and it was there, that, under cover of the neutrality of the republic, the troops were disembarked which were afterwards to be used against the Duke of Savoy.

Knowing these things, Raleigh sent a message to Scarnafissi, suggesting that it would be well, if the consent of James could be obtained, to make preparations to strike a blow against Genoa. His own ships would be ready to carry out the scheme, if his Majesty would add four vessels from the royal navy, and if they could be assisted by others from Holland and France. He was so well informed of the state of the defences of Genoa, that he had little doubt of taking the city by surprise. If, however, this should fail, his forces would be sufficient to lay siege to it with every prospect of success.[2]

Scarnafissi was delighted, and the proposal was at once carried to the King, who had no objection to raise against the violation of a neutrality which was only a neutrality in name. James promised to take the affair into consideration, and on January 12 he told Scarnafissi to consult with Winwood and Edmondes. By them he was required to show, in the first place, that the enterprise was not too difficult; and, in the second place, that his master would not take possession of the whole of the booty for himself. Against the imputation contained in the latter question, Scarnafissi protested warmly, and suggested that if James wished to secure his proper share, he had better send a force large enough to defy opposition. With this Edmondes and Winwood were completely satisfied, and talked of arming no less

1617. January. accepted by James,

[1] Cottington to Winwood, Dec. 10, *S. P. Spain.*

[2] The whole of our knowledge of this affair is derived from those letters discovered by Mr. Rawdon Brown, and published by MM. Ceresole and Fulin, in their Italian translation of the preface to the first volume of his Calendar of the Venetian State Papers. Mr. Edwards has since republished them in his *Life of Ralegh.*

than sixteen of the royal ships to accompany Raleigh's squadron. Scarnafissi reported to his master that Raleigh was eager 'to attack the Spaniards wherever he could, and to spare neither his coasts, his lands, or his vessels, or anything else that depended on Spain, or where he could hope for gain.'

A few days afterwards the negotiation was broken off. Scarnafissi was told that the King wished well to his master, but that he could not divert Raleigh from his voyage to Guiana. On January 30, Raleigh was finally released from the restrictions placed upon him nine months before. He might now go where he would without the attendance of a keeper. He was a free, but not a pardoned, man.[1]

and finally abandoned.

The Venetian ambassador, who had heard the story from Scarnafissi, attributed this sudden change of purpose partly to James's unwillingness to break with Spain, and partly to his distrust of Raleigh, who might be expected to carry off the whole of the booty himself.[2] Such thoughts may possibly have entered into James's mind. But it is only fair to remember that at the time when the plan was finally rejected, intelligence had reached England which made it appear likely that the quarrel between Spain and Savoy would be settled by amicable negotiation,[3] and that this information must have appeared of the greater value, as it coincided with assurances from Madrid of the pacific intentions of the Spanish Government.[4] The news thus received proved correct, and peace was finally concluded in the following September.

[1] Warrant, Jan. 30.—*Losely MSS.* Communicated by Mr. Edwards.

[2] Lionello to the Council of Ten, Jan. $\frac{9, 16, \text{Jan. } 24,}{19, 26, \text{Feb. } 3,}$ *Edwards*, i. 579. Mr. Edwards thinks the plan originated with Scarnafissi. Lionello's language is perhaps not quite plain; but I believe he meant to speak of the idea as originating with Raleigh. The question is of no practical importance, as Raleigh certainly took it up warmly before it was communicated to James or Winwood.

[3] Lionello to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 24,}{\text{Feb. } 3,}$ *Venice MSS.* This despatch was written on the same day as the more secret one containing the notice of James's rejection of the plan for an attack on Genoa.

[4] Cottington to Lake, Jan. 10, *S. P. Spain.*

It is not unlikely that James' change of attitude was, to some extent, the result of the state of the negotiation for the marriage. As soon as the new junto[1] of theologians gave their advice in favour of proceeding with the treaty, Lerma wrote to Sarmiento directing him to assure James of the intention of his master to give all reasonable satisfaction about the marriage.[2] As soon as James was acquainted with this letter he again listened to Sarmiento's assurances with approbation,[3] and he now talked of sending Digby to Madrid, formally to discuss the terms of the treaty.

February. Progress of the negotiations for the marriage.

It was a terrible blow for Raleigh, but his busy brain quickly turned in another direction. He had not been speaking at random when he proposed to include French vessels in the fleet which was to swoop down upon Genoa. He had long been in close communication with the leaders of the French Protestants. Already, before he left the Tower, a proposal had been made to him by one of them that, as soon as he could procure his freedom, he should collect six or seven ships to join in an attack upon the Mexico fleet.[4] Others were now urging him to steer for the coast of France, and to occupy St. Valery, there to support the rebellion which they projected against the authority of the Queen Mother. Nor were there wanting voices at home to urge Raleigh along the evil path on which he was too willing to be guided. Winwood, there can be little doubt, was urging him to break the peace at all hazards, and to fall upon the Mexico fleet as the best means, if all others failed, of bringing the King to a rupture with Spain.[5]

Raleigh and the French Protestants.

[1] Lafuente to Sarmiento, Jan. $\frac{6}{16}$, *Madrid Nat. Library*. See p. 38.

[2] Sarmiento to Lerma, Feb. $\frac{9}{19}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2596, fol. 43.

[3] Salvetti, *News Letter*, March $\frac{6}{16}$.

[4] This is from Raleigh's own confession. Wilson to the King, Oct. 1618, *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 16.

[5] In his News-letter of $\frac{\text{June } 25}{\text{July } 5}$, 1618, Salvetti writes that the King had promised to punish the delinquents, 'fra quali su segretario di stato Winwood, se fosse vivo, andarebbe a risico d'essere ritrovato principale :—credendosi per certo che, como partigiano delli Hollandesi, et a loro persua-

Meanwhile the French ambassador, Desmarets, had kept his eye upon Raleigh. In January he seems to have had information of the proposed attack upon St. Valery, or at least to have had a suspicion that the expedition to Guiana might end in a sudden raid upon the coast of France. On March 7, he informed his Government that he had visited the Admiral on board the 'Destiny,' in the hope of being able to discover what his intentions were. Raleigh, he said, had broken out into bitter complaints against the King, had spoken of his own attachment to France, and had ended by requesting a more private interview, in order that he might communicate to him a secret of importance.

March. Desmarets' visit to Raleigh.

Desmarets appears to have taken no further trouble about the matter, as soon as he had discovered that the French coast was safe from attack. On March 21, a fortnight after his visit to the ship, he wrote home that he had been too busy to find time to see Raleigh again,[1] and it was only on April 14, long after the 'Destiny' had left the Thames, that he wrote to say that Raleigh had assured him that 'seeing himself so evilly and tyrannically treated by his own king, he had made up his mind, if God sent him good success, to leave his country, and to make the King of France the first offer of whatever might fall under his power.'[2]

In his public despatch, Desmarets contented himself with

sioni havesse indotto il Rallè a fare questi insulti per provocare i Spagnoli a rompere la pace con questa Corona.' Contarini is still more explicit :—"Nella inquisitione diligente che si è fatta per venir all' espeditione di Ser Vat Ralè, ha egli spontanamente confessato che quando parti per l'Indie Occidentali, fosse stato da alcuni principali ministri et signori del consiglio poco inclinati a Spagna et alienissimi da vedere l'allianza con quella Corona, fra quali ha nominato il già morto Secretario Vinut, consigliato e persuaso abbracciare ogni occasione di attaccare le flotte, o li Stati del Rè Catolico, da che ne nascesse non solo diffidenza tra queste dice Corone, ma anco causa di rottura."—Contarini to the Doge, Oct. $\frac{16}{26}$, 1618, *Venice MSS.*

[1] Desmarets to Richelieu, Jan. $\frac{2}{12}$, March $\frac{7, 21}{17, 31}$, Bibl. Nat. *MSS. Dupuy*, 420, fol. 2 b.

[2] Quoted from the despatch of April $\frac{14}{24}$, by Mr. Edwards. *Life of Ralegh*, i. 595, note.

saying that he had given good words to Raleigh in return. But there is reason to believe that he was cognisant of a message sent at this time by Raleigh through a Frenchman named Faige, to Montmorency, the Admiral of France, in order to beg his assistance in obtaining from Louis permission to take refuge in a French port upon his return.[1]

And now, just as the 'Destiny' was ready to drop down the river, Sarmiento made a last attempt to stop the expedition. It would have been well both for Raleigh and for James if he had succeeded. But it was not so to be. James, indeed, was struck by Sarmiento's reasoning, for he knew perfectly well that the Spaniards would fall upon Raleigh wherever they could find him; and by this time he must have been able to form a pretty shrewd guess at Raleigh's real opinions on the doctrine of 'No peace beyond the line.'

Sarmiento's renewed protests.

Yet, even if James had been inclined to throw obstacles in the way of the voyage, there were those around him who would not suffer him to do it. For, careless as he was of the public opinion which found expression in the House of Commons, he was extremely sensitive to the opinion of those amongst whom

[1] Contarini in his despatch of Oct. $\frac{16}{26}$, 1618, distinctly states, that Raleigh confessed having from Desmarets a promise of permission to take refuge in France. "Essendole promesso de M. de Maretz . . . non solo la sicurezza di potersi retirare in Francia, ma la protettione et favore in ogni bisogno del Christianissimo." Salvetti speaks of it as being known that Le Clerc, the French Agent, after Desmarets' departure, and La Chesnaye, the Interpreter of the Embassy, "havessero negoziato col Cavalier Raliè avanti che facesse il suo viaggio di Guiana per farli fare quel que fece." Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Oct. $\frac{2}{12}$, 1618. One of the questions put to La Chesnaye was:—"Is it true that through the influence of the last ambassador of France in England, Raleigh had a commission from the Most Christian King, or from his Admiral, to go to sea?" Examination of La Chesnaye, St. John's *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 315. On the other hand, Raleigh denied on the scaffold having any intelligence with the French King, or his ambassador or agent (*Edwards*, i. 700). Raleigh's own confession will be quoted further on, when I come to speak of Montmorency's commission.

his daily life was passed, and he knew that many of them were Raleigh's warmest partisans. He told Sarmiento that if he stopped the expedition now, the whole nation would cry out against him. All that he could do was to lay the case before the Council.

The Council was accordingly summoned. But, as James had expected, Raleigh's supporters mustered strongly. They advised the King on no account to stop the expedition, and some who were present offered to give security that Raleigh would refrain from any attack upon Spanish territories. Winwood was accordingly ordered to wait upon Sarmiento, and to place in his hand a letter [1] written by Raleigh, in which he stated that he was really bound for Guiana, and that he would not commit outrages or spoils on the subjects of the King of Spain. At the same time Winwood handed over to the ambassador a list of the vessels of which the fleet was composed.[2]

As is well known, Raleigh afterwards stigmatized this as a betrayal of his confidence.[3] It is difficult for impartial persons to regard it in any such light, as there was nothing in the papers

[1] That James was influenced by popular clamour is plainly stated in the King's Declaration, and receives full confirmation from Sarmiento's despatches, as does the story of the letter from Winwood. I may here say that I cannot pass over the Declaration in so cavalier a manner as it is customary to do. It was Bacon's production, and I, for one, do not believe that Bacon would purposely introduce false statements into such a document. He had before him a great mass of evidence which is now lost, and though I think he was led astray on the question of Raleigh's belief in the existence of the mine, it is impossible to deny, that whenever a piece of fresh evidence turns up, it confirms the accuracy of his statements.

[2] After the meeting of the Privy Council, "aviendose platicado en esta materia (por los muchos valedores que tenia Gualtero) se acordó que antes de su partida diesse fianças de que no ponia pie en tierra que estuviesse por de V. Mag^d., ni haria á vasallos de V. Mag^d. el menor daño del mundo." Minutes of Sarmiento's despatches, March $\frac{20}{30}$, &c. *Simancas MSS.* 2514, fol. 86. Buckingham to Winwood, March 28, *Cayley*, ii. 104. Compare the language of the minutes with the King's Declaration, which thus receives an unexpected vindication.

[3] Carew Raleigh told Howel that James had promised his father to keep his secret. But Raleigh himself says nothing of the kind.

placed in Gondomar's hands which was not perfectly well known to him already. The number of Raleigh's vessels was ascertainable by anyone who chose to take the trouble to make the necessary inquiries at London or Plymouth; and that the expedition was bound for a mine on the Orinoco was only what Raleigh had been reiterating for the last twelve months. Gondomar believed these assertions to be false; and all that he had now gained was that he had forced Raleigh to repeat them in a more solemn form. In point of fact, the first warning was despatched from Madrid to the Indies some weeks before Winwood's interview with Sarmiento, though it is true that more pressing orders were afterwards added. But so little weight did the ambassador attribute to the special information which he had received, that in a letter which he wrote three months afterwards, he said that he could not tell what Raleigh's course had been, and that many persons supposed that he was bound for the East Indies, and would not go to Guiana at all.[1]

Was Raleigh betrayed?

Even amongst Raleigh's supporters there were not wanting some who feared that he intended to play them false. Just as the 'Destiny' was ready to leave the Thames, Arundel came on board, and taking the admiral by the hand, asked him to give his word that, whether his voyage turned out well or ill, he would come back to England. Raleigh, fresh from his intrigue with the French ambassador, solemnly declared that he would.

Arundel's visit to the 'Destiny.'

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., June $\frac{16}{26}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2572, fol. 257. Cottington's despatches from Madrid show plainly what the Spaniards were afraid of. "The going of Sir W. Raleigh to sea," he writes, "is here extremely ill taken . . . the truth is, they fear that Sir W. Raleigh, failing of the gold he pretends to find, may (considering his strength) prove a dangerous infester of the coast of their Indies, where doubtless he shall find very poor resistance." Again, in another letter, "I answer them, that without doubt the thing in itself is lawful;" yet, "I perceive they are so much nettled with it (not that they think Sir W. Raleigh will find any gold in Guiana, but that, missing it, he will commit some outrages in the coast of their Indies to repair the charge), as they intend to move some treaty for the prevention of the like or worse hereafter." Cottington to Winwood, April 26. Cottington to Lake, April 26, *S. P. Spain.*

Raleigh leaves London.

On March 29, Raleigh left London to join his ship at Dover, to start on an expedition which could hardly end well either for himself or for his country. With the usual inconsistency of a weak man, James had attempted to atone for his rashness in one direction by still greater rashness in another. If he had given ear so easily to those who were recommending to his favour an enterprise which meant nothing if it did not mean hostility to Spain, it was doubtless because he was at that very moment knitting more closely than ever the ties which bound him to the Spanish monarchy. For it was during those very days in which Raleigh was completing the preparations for his voyage, that James made the first public declaration on the subject of the marriage.

The Commissioners on the marriage.

In order to open formal negotiations with decency, it was necessary to obtain at least the ostensible concurrence of some independent body. Accordingly a commission of the Privy Council was summoned on March 2, to give advice to the King on the subject. The names of the commissioners—Bacon, Lennox, Suffolk, Arundel, Pembroke, Fenton,[1] Wotton,[2] Lake, Digby, and Villiers, who, on January 5, after enjoying the title of Viscount for little more than four months, had been raised, by the foolish fondness of James, to the dignity of Earl of Buckingham—display a preponderance of feeling on the Spanish side ; but they nevertheless show that every shade of opinion, excepting that of the extreme war party, was represented.

March 2. The King's declaration.

Before these commissioners, however, James could not lay the whole question of the marriage as if it were still intact. No formal proposal had indeed been made, but there had been conversations and messages which were almost equivalent to such a proposal. James, therefore, treated the project as one which had been practically accepted for negotiation. Having pointed out that the state of his affairs

[1] Who, as Sir J. Erskine, had succeeded Raleigh as Captain of the Guard. He is described by Sarmiento as a moderate Protestant, whose wife had lately become a Catholic.

[2] Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's elder brother. He afterwards became a Catholic.

was such as 'might give him cause to make the best use of his son, thereby to get some good portion towards the payment of his debts,' he assured the commissioners that he had always been firm on points of religion, and that both Sarmiento and Lerma 'had so far declared themselves, as they did neither expect alteration in religion in the Prince nor any liberty or toleration for His Majesty's subjects, nor other course in the matter of religion which might be displeasing to His Majesty's subjects, nor any alteration in the course of his affairs or correspondencies with foreign Princes, whereby he might lose or abandon them.'

The general policy of the marriage treaty being thus reserved, as a matter on which the opinions of the commissioners was not asked, James requested them to hear a statement which Digby would make on the previous course of the negotiation, and to read the documents which he would lay before them. After examining these overtures they were to consider whether if they 'did not find that there was so much ground given for His Majesty to hope of a good issue as that His Majesty might begin the motion, then in what manner the same should be replied to, so as His Majesty might with the soonest discover the sincerity of their intention, and what particulars it would come unto, as well in matter of religion as in matter of portion, and so discern how far he might build any foundation to his affairs upon this treaty.'[1]

Such a demand, so made, was not likely to draw from the commissioners the decided objection which some of them entertained to the proposed marriage itself. All they were asked was whether, as far as they could judge, the Spanish Government was sufficiently in earnest to justify the King in proceeding with the treaty. The principal question at issue—the form in which concessions were to be made to the English Catholics—was removed from their cognisance and reserved for a future agreement between the two sovereigns. The commissioners, therefore, contented themselves with answering that there was 'as much assurance

March 5. Answer of the Commissioners.

[1] King's speech, Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 146.

of good success as in such a case could be had,' and that 'it was very likely that the breach, if any were, could not be but upon some material point of religion; which, if it fell out would not be any dishonour to his Majesty, but on the contrary a great reputation both with his subjects here at home, and with his friends of the reformed religion in foreign parts.' [1]

It is evident that the commissioners did not expect much from the treaty. Nor can there be any doubt that some of

[1] The sum of His Majesty's speech. Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 146. Bacon, in the paper on summoning Parliament, of which I have already spoken (Vol. II. p. 366) advised that a supply should be sought from Parliament by "the opinion of some great offer for a marriage of the Prince with Spain; not that I shall easily advise that that should be really effected, but I say the opinion of it may have singular use, both because it will easily be believed that the offer may be so great from that hand as may at once free the King's estate; and chiefly, because it will be a notable attractive to the Parliament that hates the Spaniard, so to do for the King, as his state may not force him to fall upon that condition." James seems to have preferred using the Parliament as a terror to the King of Spain, though he had, perhaps, not altogether abandoned the idea of reversing the process. "I thought," writes Digby, soon after his arrival in Spain, "it would conduce more properly unto your Majesty's intentions, which, your Majesty may remember you signified unto me, were to have the treaty of this match to go jointly together with the calling of a Parliament, for that otherwise" the King of Spain "seeing the treaty with France broken, and your Majesty out of necessity, as it were, cast upon him, would thereupon stand on the stricter conditions; whereas, otherwise, if he shall find or be persuaded that your Majesty is likely to be diverted from this match by the offers of your people, it is very probable he will restrain himself to more moderate demands. So likewise, on the other side, if the Parliament should see your Majesty in want or necessity, without any hope or other means of relieving yourself but by the supplies which should be granted unto your Majesty from them, I presume no discreet man will presume to rely singly upon their courtesies. But if they shall see your Majesty may be really and effectually supplied by the match of your son with Spain, I conceive the Parliament is like to be a body so composed that they will either stretch far for the diverting of your Majesty from the match; or if that your Majesty's wants may be relieved by the Princess's portion, and that your Majesty may speak to them as a Prince not in necessity, or that cannot subsist without them, your Majesty will doubtless find other language from them than in other times you have done." Digby to the King, Oct 8, 1617, *S. P. Spain.*

them, if they had been suffered to speak their minds before James had so far entangled himself, would have spoken strongly against any proposal of the kind. It is not necessary to sympathize with those who believed any alliance with Catholics to be antichristian, to feel how ill-judged the mere contemplation of such a marriage was. The very fact of its unpopularity in England was a serious objection, but it was far from being all that was to be alleged against it. It is easy to say that if Spain had been other than she was, and if she had been seriously willing to take into consideration the rights of Protestants to equality of treatment with the rights of Catholics, such a marriage might have opened a happy era of reconciliation. Not only was this not the case, but it was notorious that it was not the case. Lerma and Sarmiento might speak as they pleased, but there was nothing in their actions to show that Spain had changed its nature. No doubt there was something to be gained. A French princess would only bring with her a portion of 200,000*l.*, whilst it was expected that a Spanish Infanta would bring a portion of 600,000*l.* James too might expect, what he was certain not to obtain, the co-operation of Spain in his laudable efforts for appeasing the distractions of the Continent. For such advantages as were to be gained the price to be paid was enormous. It was the least part of the mischief which James was preparing that his son would be burdened with a wife who would not have one thought in common with himself. When once the Infanta was established in England, her court would be a centre of intrigue against the religion and the political institutions of the English nation.

Disadvantages of the proposed marriage.

If the reply of the commissioners veiled a repugnance to the proposed marriage, James did not take the hint. He resolved to despatch Digby again to Madrid. The articles, as they had been sent from Spain the year before, were to be made the basis of the negotiation, as far as the Infanta and her household were concerned ; but the discussion of the treatment of the Catholics was to be reserved for future consideration by James himself. The portion to be asked for was on no account to be less than 500,000*l.*, and more was to be obtained if possible. The express stipulation

April. Digby's instructions.

was to be added that it should not revert to the Infanta if she were left a widow.[1]

This public declaration was justly regarded by Sarmiento as the crowning glory of his diplomacy. It was by no means to his own satisfaction that he was still in England. He had long been wearying his Government with repeated applications for permission to return to his native land. He was suffering from a disease for which the medical skill of that age afforded no remedy, and he was longing for repose in his stately mansion at Valladolid. In his eyes the tawny plains which lie along the banks of the Pisuerga were more lovely than the green fields of pleasant England. It was difficult for the Spanish Government to grant his desire. Again and again he was told that he could not be spared from the post which he filled so well. Another desire which he cherished was more readily acceded to. For some time he had been pertinaciously begging for a title which would satisfy the world that his labours had been graciously accepted by his master. It was easier to honour his services than to dispense with them, and as soon as the news of James's resolution arrived at Madrid, he was informed that he would from henceforward be known as the Count of Gondomar,[2] but that he must remain in England a little longer.

Sarmiento created Count of Gondomar.

For most men there was nothing more to be said about the marriage till Digby had felt the ground at Madrid. But to Bacon it was intolerable to leave the matter so. If there was to be a Spanish alliance at all, he must do his best to raise it to a higher sphere than that in which James's thoughts were grovelling. Though the reconciliation of the great ecclesiastical sections into which Europe was divided seemed less exclusively important to him than it did to Digby, he had no sympathy with the untiring bitterness against Spain by which Raleigh and Winwood were animated.

Views of Bacon.

[1] Instructions to Digby, April 4. Prynne's *Hidden Works*, 2.

[2] Lerma to the President of the Council, April $\frac{18}{28}$, 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2572, fol. 233.

Just as he had sought to put an end to the domestic difficulties of his country, by calling upon the King and the House of Commons to join together in some noble work worthy of the nation, he now sought, though probably without much hope, to lead the two great nations which had been engaged so long in an internecine struggle, to see that the only alliance worth having was founded on joint service for the common good of Europe. As soon, therefore, as it was determined that Digby was to return to Madrid, he drew up a paper, which he advised the King to issue as an additional instruction to his ambassador.

March 23.

Why should not, he argued, the two great monarchies combine to establish a court of arbitration, by which all quarrels between Christian princes might be decided, and a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood? Another suggestion was of a more practical nature. Might not England and Spain make common cause against the danger which still threatened Europe from the side of the Turkish Empire? That empire, indeed, had not yet fallen into the decrepitude which has in our own day caused such anxiety to Western Europe. Its strength was still great, and was justly considered to be dangerous to its neighbours. But it was evident to all that the tide was on the turn, and it may well have seemed to Bacon that a war half-religious, half-political, might justifiably be waged with the object of setting bounds to the flood of barbarism which was formidable even in its decline.[1]

His proposed instructions to Digby.

Bacon's advice was that of a man who invariably strove to make the best of the conditions before him. There are, however, situations from which nothing but evil can result, and

[1] A remembrance additional to the instructions of Sir J. Digby, March 23, Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 158. See also Mr. Spedding's Preface to the Advertisement touching a Holy War. Bacon's *Lit. and Prof. Works*, ii. 3. The clause about 'popular estates and leagues,' refers, I suppose, to the opposition of the Dutch in the affair of the Merchant Adventurers, and to the plan which was at this time warmly discussed for removing the staple from Middelburg to Antwerp.

unhappily, that which had been created by James's resolution to embark seriously on a marriage treaty with Spain was one of these. Nothing but alienation between himself and the English nation could be the result of such a policy.

The Barbary pirates.

Whatever might be thought of the expediency of a direct attack upon Constantinople, there was one part of the Turkish Empire which called imperatively for the interference of the maritime powers. Tunis and Algiers still nominally formed part of the dominions of the Sultan, and the Pachas who were supposed to govern the two states were duly nominated at Constantinople. But, in fact, Tunis and Algiers were the seats of independent communities. In each of them a militia, recruited from every part of the empire, had all power in its hands. Swarms of foreigners settled down like locusts upon the wretched population, and held them in subjection, with all the crushing weight of a military despotism. The Beys of Tunis and the Dey of Algiers were elected by this turbulent soldiery, and were in reality servants of the uncontrollable hordes which had long bidden defiance to the Sultan.

Their ravages.

It was not in the nature of things that states thus constituted should be content to live upon the resources furnished by their own dominions. With the full stream of European commerce passing almost within sight of their coasts, it is no wonder that they had learned to quote with peculiar fervour the passages of the Koran which enjoined upon all true believers the duty of making war upon the infidel. In both of the states, and especially in Algiers, which was by far the more formidable of the two, what the sufferers called piracy had long been a regularly organized institution.

The mode of proceeding was extremely simple. Whenever a member of the military community who was rich enough to possess a vessel fitted for the purpose wished to try his fortune at sea, he asked the Dey for permission to leave the port; a permission which was invariably granted, excepting when the vessel was needed for the public service. The adventurer's next step was to go on board his ship, to hoist a flag, and to fire a cannon. At the well-known signal, troops of

hardy ruffians flocked on board. As soon as the selection had been made, the captain put out to sea, and either lay in wait for the richly freighted merchantmen which carried the trade of Western Europe, or swept the coast in the hope of surprising persons of wealth and station, for whose release a large ransom might be demanded. Strict discipline was maintained, and it was rarely that the pirates returned without a prize. At the end of the cruise a fixed proportion of the booty was assigned to the Dey, whilst the remainder was shared amongst the crew.[1] The greater number of the prisoners were detained in a life-long slavery. No hope remained to them, unless they were fortunate enough to be captured by the vessels of some Christian sovereign. It was only a few who, like Cervantes, owed their release to the payment of a ransom by their wealthy friends. Still fewer, like Vincent de Paul, were assisted to escape by the connivance of some member of their captor's family. By the inhabitants of the coasts of Southern Europe, slavery at Algiers was regarded as a horrible misery, which might fall to the lot of anyone.

The renegades.

It was not only amongst the natives of the Turkish Empire that the pirate bands were recruited. Every man who would join them was welcome in Algiers. The offscourings of the Mediterranean ports—men with seared consciences and broken fortunes—might there win their way to wealth and to a certain kind of fame. Their prosperity would be all the more brilliant if they would renounce a Christianity of which they knew nothing but the name. Even natives of the northern countries occasionally joined in these atrocities. Not a few of the mariners who had manned the English privateers which had been so mischievous to the enemy during the Spanish war, continued the work of plunder from the Barbary ports. The heir of an ancient Buckinghamshire family, Sir Francis Verney, took part for many years in these nefarious enterprises. An Englishman, named Ward, and a Dutchman, named Dansker, were long the terror of sailors of every nation; and, at one time, it was said that not a single

[1] Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, iv. 325

vessel sailed out of Algiers which did not carry an English pilot.

Story of Ward.

The history of Ward was, perhaps, in the main the history of hundreds like him. In his youth he had taken part in some of the buccaneering expeditions in which so many English sailors had gambled away their lives, in the hopes of filling their pockets with Spanish gold. He is next heard of as a frequenter of alehouses at Plymouth, where he is said to have left behind him the reputation of a spendthrift and a drunkard. Early in the reign of James, he found employment as a common sailor on board one of the king's ships. Steady discipline and hard fare were not to his taste. One day, as his vessel was lying in Portsmouth harbour, he heard that a wealthy recusant, who had recently sold his estate, with the intention of taking refuge in France, had sent 2,000*l.* on board a little vessel which was waiting to convey himself and his family to Havre. Ward had no difficulty in persuading some of his boon companions to join him in an attempt upon the prize. Soon after nightfall the crew of desperadoes leaped upon the deck, battened down the hatches upon the two men who were left in charge, and stood out to sea.

To Ward's sore disappointment his search for the expected treasure proved unavailing. His colloquies with his associates had attracted attention, and the money had been removed to a place of safety. But it was too late to go back. Off the Scilly Isles he sighted a French vessel three times the size of his own, and armed with six guns. Fertile in expedients, he ordered the greater part of his crew to keep below whilst he ran alongside the stranger, and engaged the Frenchmen in conversation. At a given signal his men poured up from the hold, and over the sides of the larger vessel. In a few seconds she was a prize in the hands of the pirates. After this exploit, Ward had the effrontery to put into Cawsand Bay, and to search for recruits amongst the comrades of his carouses in the alehouses of Plymouth. As soon as his vessel was manned, he made all sail for Tunis, where he was received with open arms. His courage and skill soon placed him on a level with the foremost

of the pirate captains. Wealth followed in the train of success, and it was said that no English nobleman kept such state as the runaway sailor.[1]

Feeling in England.

In itself, piracy was by no means regarded in England with the detestation which it merited. To plunder Frenchmen and Venetians was a very venial offence. To plunder Spaniards was almost a heroic achievement. But indignation was roused when it was heard that many of these men had 'turned Turks,'[2] especially when it was found that the renegades had no idea of sparing the growing English commerce in the Mediterranean. In the words of a contemporary annalist, these wretches, 'doubting their offences to be unpardonable by law and nature, became runagates, renouncing their Christian faith, exercising all manner of despites, and speaking blasphemy against God, their king, and country; and taught the infidels the knowledge and use of navigation, to the great hurt of Europe.'

Attempts to suppress piracy.

Attempts were occasionally made to arrest the evil. James had set his heart, as far as he ever set his heart upon anything, upon suppressing the pirates. In the first years of his reign proclamation followed proclamation, in which, as far as words could go, he made known his abhorrence of their conduct. In 1608, nineteen pirates were seen hanging in a row at Wapping, as a terror to all who might be disposed to follow their example. On July 20, 1609, the Spanish Admiral, Fajardo, succeeded in destroying no less than twenty vessels under the command of Ward. But such losses were easily repaired. Two months after Ward's defeat, Dansker took one of the galleons of the Mexico fleet, and carried it into Marseilles, in the expectation that a blow struck against the commerce of Spain would be welcome in France, from whatever quarter it might proceed. A few days earlier, Sir Francis Verney had been making havoc of his own countrymen, and

[1] *A true and certain Report of . . . Captain Ward and Dansker*, by Andrew Barker, 1609.

[2] This feeling is illustrated by the prologue to Daborn's play, '*A Christian turned Turk.*'

had carried into Algiers three or four prizes belonging to the merchants of Poole and Plymouth.[1]

Treatment of the prisoners in Spain.

The Spaniards returned in kind the barbarous treatment which they suffered. In houses of distinction at Madrid, slaves from Barbary were the regular attendants.[2] European pirates were more harshly treated. In 1616, for instance, a Captain Kelway was taken, with thirty of his crew. They were all condemned to be hanged; but, as Cottington expresses it, 'the Jesuits dealt with them for their conversion in religion; and such as they could convert were immediately hanged with great joy; and such as keep their own religion live, and are put to the gallies, so as twelve only are made saints, and the others are kept for devils.'[3] But neither the hangman, nor the worse misery of the galleys, proved of any avail, and in the early part of 1617 the crews of a fleet of seventy sail found occupation in plundering the commerce of the Mediterranean.[4]

The Earl of Southampton.

Foremost amongst those who took to heart the insolence of these miscreants, was Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. His shining talents and impetuous courage had made him a marked man amongst the paladins who guarded the throne of Elizabeth in her declining years. Almost alone amongst his contemporaries, he had detected the genius of Shakespeare; and it has even been supposed by some that his were the joys and sorrows embalmed by the great poet in his immortal sonnets. He had thrown himself heart and soul into the great struggle with Spain; and wherever his sword

[1] Stow's *Annales*, ed. Howes, 893. A relation of the success of the King of Spain's Armada in 1609, *S. P. Spain.* The date is given by Howes erroneously as 1608. See also Cottington's despatch of Sept. 28, 1609, in *S. P. Spain.* There is a full account of Sir Francis, whose portrait and staff are preserved at Claydon, in Mr. Bruce's *Verney Papers.*

[2] "Few serve themselves with other than captive Turks and Moors, and so the multitude of them were very great." Cottington to Salisbury, June 9, 1610. When Buckingham was in Spain in 1623, he asked the Marquis of Aytona to sell him a boy for 30*l.* Aston to Buckingham, Dec. 5, 1623, *S. P. Spain.*

[3] Cottington to Winwood, Aug. 19, 1616, *ibid.*

[4] Cottington to Winwood, May 20, 1617, *ibid.*

was drawn he brought back with him the reputation of a brave and skilful warrior. He had many great and some noble qualities; but they were seriously impaired by the vehemence of his temper. His judgment was weak, and his power of self-restraint was very small. At one time he was brawling in the Queen's palace; at another time his friendship for Essex beguiled him into taking part in the spoiled favourite's senseless treason, and brought him to the very edge of the scaffold. The accession of James opened his prison doors, and he hoped for a seat at the Council-table; but his merits and his faults alike barred the way to office against him. In 1604 he gave offence to the King, and for a few days he was under arrest. In 1610 the Court was amused by his quarrel, at a game of tennis, with Pembroke's foolish brother, Montgomery, and men were laughing at the vehemence with which these two great lords used their rackets about one another's ears.[1] But such scenes as these were far from making up the whole of his life. He found occupation for himself in the many schemes which were on foot for the colonisation of America, and he soon became a busy member of the Virginia Company. He was now engaged in consultations with the City merchants who had suffered in the Mediterranean; and with their assistance he had prepared a plan which was submitted to the King. He proposed that an expedition should be at once fitted out against Algiers. Twelve thousand men, he said, would be sufficient to capture that nest of pirates. The merchants expressed their willingness to bear two-thirds of the expense, if the King would take the remainder upon himself. If James refused, it was thought that the Dutch would be ready to take the matter up.

If this had been all, there would have been enough to excite the apprehensions of Gondomar. He had no wish to see an English fleet so near the coast of Spain. But the informant from whom the ambassador derived his knowledge told him more than this. He said—and it is by no means unlikely to have been true[2]—that it was resolved that if

Gondomar's opposition.

[1] Chamberlain to Winwood, May 2, 1610. *Winw. Memorials*, iii. 154.

It must be remembered that a month or two earlier a proposal had

the expedition failed, an indemnity should be found in the plunder of Genoa or of the States of the Pope. Gondomar, therefore, without appearing publicly in the affair, did his best to throw obstacles in its way. As the merchants were desirous that Southampton should himself take the command of the expedition, it was easy to speak of the scheme as an arrangement concocted for the mere purpose of furthering the Earl's ambition. According to Gondomar, all that he really wanted was to bring about a war with Spain, in order that he might be called upon to replace the aged Nottingham, as Lord High Admiral of England.[1]

James laid the whole subject before the Commissioners to whom the marriage treaty had been already referred. They immediately summoned before them the merchants whose interests were affected by the continuance of piracy, and asked them whether they were prepared to contribute a fair proportion of the expenses. They also sent for a few old sea captains, in order to have their opinion on the feasibility of the enterprise.

April. Consultations on the proposal.

The merchants at once offered to find 40,000*l.* in two years; and, after a little pressing, said that if the enterprise were seriously taken in hand, they would not be backward in increasing their contribution. But there seemed some doubt whether the enterprise was likely to serve any useful purpose after all. Both the merchants and the sailors agreed that it was perfectly hopeless to think of taking, by a sudden attack, a place so strongly fortified as Algiers; and Nottingham and Monson supported the dissentients with all the weight of their authority. A long series of operations would be necessary. If the fleet could keep the sea for a sufficient length of time, it might be possible to wear out the enemy by destroying his vessels and by cutting off his prospects of plunder. But if such a scheme was to be carried out, it was evident that the assistance of Spain would be indispensable. Yet everyone, with the exception of

been made for a direct attack upon Genoa, by men with whom Southampton was intimate.

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., July $\frac{21}{12}$, 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2850, fol. 1. Naval Tracts of Sir W. Monson, in Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 167.

one or two of the Commissioners, shrank from carrying on war with the King of Spain for an ally. Still, it was madness to think that a blockading squadron could keep the sea without a single friendly port as a place of retreat in time of need; and all that could be said was, that the King of Spain might perhaps consent to contribute in money to the undertaking, and to open his ports to the English and the Dutch, by whom the real work would be done. That English and Spanish sailors could not be brought together without coming to blows, was the opinion of all whose advice was asked upon the subject.[1]

As soon as these recommendations were reported to James, he gave orders that Digby should take them for his guidance, and should excuse himself for asking for money only, on the plea that the Spanish ships were too large to be usefully employed on coast service.[2]

May. Digby ordered to support the plan.

Such was the promising opening of the first serious effort to reap benefit from the Spanish alliance. But, before inquiring how Digby fared at Madrid, it will be well to cast a glance upon the domestic affairs of England.

[1] Commissioners for the Spanish business in London to those with the King, April 30, Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 175.

[2] Commissioners with the King to those in London, May 6, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 11.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL AND THE FAVOURITE.

At the time when James thought fit to lay his Spanish project before commissioners selected from the Privy Council, that body itself was hardly in a position to exercise much influence over the course of affairs. It is true that the new members who had lately taken their seats at the Board were such as were likely to add no small weight to its authority. But its composition was so heterogeneous, and those who sat at it had received promotion for such opposite reasons, that it is strange that their consultations did not terminate in open strife. Abbot was there because he hated Rome, and Andrewes because he detested Geneva. Edmondes had gained his seat by his services in maintaining the French alliance, and Digby by his energetic efforts in favour of Spain. One secretary, Sir Ralph Winwood, never ceased to call for war with the Spanish monarchy. The other secretary, Sir Thomas Lake, thought that such a war was to be avoided by all possible means, and was himself in receipt of a Spanish pension. Arundel, the heir of the eldest branch of the Howards, brought with him the feelings and the prejudices of the old nobility, whilst Bacon was longing to transform the realm after the fashion which his own genius had suggested to him.

March. The Privy Council.

A council thus composed was admirably adapted to serve as a consultative body, and James might have learned far more from its deliberations than he could possibly have gained from a Board at which there was greater unity of sentiment. But James unfortunately did not really

Its treatment by the King.

wish to learn anything that these men might be able to teach him. It would have been far better if he had been either a little more in earnest, or a little less in earnest, about public affairs. A king who, like Louis XIV., could have applied himself to the laborious task of overlooking the daily working of the machine of government might have obtained from such a council the materials for the exercise of an independent judgment. A king who, like Louis XIII., cared for nothing but dogs and falcons, might have found another Richelieu who would relieve him from the task which was too heavy for his own shoulders. But James thought enough about politics to make him jealous of interference, and not enough to make them the business of his life. The Council was accordingly allowed to occupy itself with matters of detail, to examine into accounts, and to report on schemes for the improvement of the revenue. Questions of higher importance were either neglected altogether, or were reserved for the King's special consideration, to be chatted over with his favourites in some idle hour, after a hard day's hunting at Theobalds or Royston.

Official corruption.

Nor was it only in the administration of political affairs that the looseness of James's hand was felt. That official corruption was alarmingly prevalent at Whitehall was a secret to no one.

The main causes of the evil admit of an easy explanation. With merely a nominal salary, the great officers of the Crown were left to depend, for the remuneration due to their services, upon the payments which, under various names, were made by those who needed their assistance. In some cases these payments were limited by an authorised scale of fees. In other cases they were restrained by custom within the bounds of moderation. But there would always be instances occurring to which no rules could apply. Men who wanted to drive a bargain with the Government soon discovered that official doors could only be opened with a golden key, and the more questionable the character of the petition was, the larger was the bribe which the petitioner was willing to administer. Even if there had been a recognised code of official morality in

existence, it would have been almost impossible to draw the line between money which might honestly be accepted and money which ought at all hazards to be refused. In truth, every man was left to draw the line for himself. What the temptations were to which an official was exposed may be gathered from the reply which was said to have been made by a statesman,[1] who had himself held the office of Lord Treasurer, to a friend who asked him what the profits of the place might be. "Some thousand pounds," he said, "to him who, after his death, would go to heaven: twice as much to him who would go to purgatory, and no one knows how much to him who would adventure to a worse place."[2]

The courtiers.

In addition to the officials whose pay was merely nominal, the King was surrounded by a crowd of hungry courtiers whose pay was nothing at all. To them flocked day by day all who had any favour to beg, and who hoped that a little money judiciously expended would smooth the way before them. Some of the applicants, no doubt, were honest men who merely wanted to get a chance of doing honest work. But there were not a few whose only object was to enrich themselves in some discreditable way, and who were ready to share the booty with those who would lend them a helping hand in their roguery.

James's supineness.

That it was his duty to make war upon this evil system was a thought which never seems seriously to have entered into James's head. Even if he had felt the desire, he lacked the firmness and energy by which alone great reforms are effected. Any glaring instance of peculation, especially when his own interests were touched, must of course be punished. But in general he seems to have thought that, if his ministers could secure payment for their services without dipping their hands into the Exchequer, it was so much the better for him. If he felt that the world was out of joint, he never went so far as to imagine that it was his business to take much trouble to set it right. "If I were to imitate the con-

[1] The Earl of Manchester.

[2] Lloyd's *State Worthies* (ed. 1766), ii. 351.

duct of your republic," he once said to a Venetian ambassador, "and to begin to punish those who take bribes, I should soon not have a single subject left."[1]

Position of Villiers.

It was partly by his consciousness of his easy nature that James had been led to impose complete trust in two successive favourites. First, in Somerset, and, after Somerset's disgrace, in Villiers, he imagined that he had found the man of whom he was in search. He had been attracted by the strong animal spirits and the handsome features which were common to both; and habit soon forged firmly the links of the chain which bound him to the inseparable companions of his leisure hours. Nor was it enough for him to pay his own worship to the idol which he had set up. He whom the King delighted to honour must be honoured by his subjects. Remembering but too well the fatal facility with which he had squandered his money and his lands upon unworthy claimants, and thinking, perhaps, that his favourite might be able to give a refusal which he was himself incapable of uttering, he determined to adopt it as a maxim that no honour should be granted, and no office bestowed, unless the good word of Buckingham were first obtained.

Patronage in his hands.

It was a dangerous experiment to place the patronage of the Crown in the hands of a stripling. It would have been strange if so sudden an elevation had not turned his head. Placed, in the heyday of youth, in a situation in which he was courted by everyone who sought advancement, it required a stronger mind than his to resist the fascinations of his position. It was so pleasant to feel that all the learning and ability of England were at his disposal, and that a smile or a frown from him could raise or depress the spirits of men who had risen, by a lifelong toil, to the highest offices of the state! Nor was it only with respectful words or ready service that those who needed his assistance were prepared to pay for his favours. Here and there, perhaps, might be found one who, like Digby or Bacon, refused to bribe his way to office; but the great majority of aspirants thought it no disgrace to offer large

[1] Marioni to the Doge, $\frac{\text{July } 23,}{\text{Aug. } 2,}$ 1618, *Venice MSS.*

sums to anyone who would help them to the object of their desires; and, at least within the limits of the Court, no surprise was shown if the courtier accepted without compunction what was offered without sense of shame.

His vanity.

And yet it was not avarice which was the besetting sin of Buckingham. If ever, before the sudden close of his career, he had leisure to look back upon the events of his past life, he might well have exclaimed, in the words which were long afterwards employed by a far greater man, that he was astonished at his own moderation. With a princely income of 15,000*l.* a year,[1] he could well afford, whenever any inclination was to be gratified, to thrust away, with a lordly sweep of the hand, the proffered bribe. It was vanity which was gnawing like a canker at his heart. The light-hearted, giddy youth who had won the approbation of Pembroke and Abbot by his courtesy and kindliness, quickly learned to cherish, with jealous fondness, the reputation of being the one man in England whose words were never whispered in the King's ear in vain. In his turn he was surrounded by a crowd of hangers-on, and he soon made it a point of honour to frustrate the suit of every man who refused to swell the train. His sudden rise boded ill for the realisation of the hopes which had been entertained by the leading members of the Council after the fall of Somerset. It was evident that it was not in their hands that James intended to place the reins of government.

Brackley's ill-health.

It was not long before the occurrence of a vacancy in one of the highest offices in the realm afforded an opportunity of impressing upon all who were looking for advancement, that there was now but one road to the royal favour. Worn out by age and infirmities, Brackley had long been soliciting permission to withdraw from the fatigues of office. Utterly opposed as the Chancellor had been to the

[1] Popularly believed to be 20,000*l.* Lionello to the Doge, Dec. $\frac{12}{22}$, 1616, *Venice MSS.* But see Suckling and others to Buckingham, July 29, 1623, *S. P. Dom.* cxliv. 91.

foreign policy which had been lately adopted by the King, James was loth to lose the services of one whom he had valued so highly, and who, in the great struggle with Coke, had stood up manfully in defence of the combined rights of the Crown and the Court of Chancery, and he replied by begging him to remain at his post. It was not by compliments that the old man's health could be restored, and though the King, in answer to renewed applications for release, continued to express hopes for his recovery, he was well aware that he could not expect ever to take his seat in Chancery again.[1] Finding, therefore, that James was still resolved not to accept his resignation, he took the decisive step of refusing to set the Great Seal to the patents which were brought to him for the purpose.[2] It was impossible to allow the business of the office to remain at a standstill. On March 3, James accordingly came to his bedside, and, accepting the seal, with tears in his eyes, from his old servant, directed that it should be immediately used to give currency to one of the patents in question, leaving the other to be sealed on the following day. It was not till it was needed for this purpose that the symbol of office was finally removed from the sick man's chamber.[3]

1617. March. His resignation and death.

[1] The King to Brackley, Feb. 9, *Biog. Brit.* Article Egerton, note W.

[2] "Withal, some say, he had vowed never to set the seal to two patents that were sent him, the one for the sale of woods, the other for some impositions on inns. So the King, seeing all things of that nature to stand still by reason of his sickness, went to visit him on Wednesday." Chamberlain to Carleton, March 8, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 105. This does not, I think, imply more than is stated above. It is the sickness that is the obstacle, not the nature of the patents. It is very improbable that Ellesmere objected to the latter patent as illegal. In another contemporary letter we are simply told that when he saw that the King would not accept his resignation, 'he began to refuse all things that were sent him from the King to seal: he refused my Lord Gerard's patent to be Lord President of the Marches of Wales.' Gerard to Carleton, March 20, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 135. The last-mentioned refusal is natural enough, as he wished for the appointment for his own son.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 8, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 105.

The old lawyer did not long enjoy that relief from official cares for which he had pleaded so earnestly. On March 15 he was at the last extremity. James had the bad taste to send Bacon to the dying man, to console him with a promise of an earldom. At one time he would have welcomed such a mark of his Sovereign's favour, were it only for the sake of the heir who had just been born to his only surviving son. But it was now too late. He thanked the King for his goodness ; but at such a moment, he said, questions of earthly rank were vanities with which he had no concern. Half an hour after Bacon had left him, he breathed his last. James did not, indeed, forget the offer which he had made. He conferred upon the son of the late Chancellor the earldom of Bridgewater ; but, if rumour spoke correctly, either he or the favourite extorted no less than 20,000*l.* from the new earl as the price of the honour.[1]

Bacon Lord Keeper.

It can hardly be said that Buckingham had much to do with the choice of the Chancellor's successor. It was, indeed, reported that Sir John Bennett, who had risen into notoriety at the time of the Essex divorce, had offered 30,000*l.* for the vacant office. Others spoke of Hobart, or even of Bishop Montague, the brother of the Chief Justice, who had lately succeeded Bilson in the see of Winchester, and had brought himself into notice by editing a collection of the King's pamphlets and speeches. A more improbable report pointed to Coke as the fortunate man.[2] But it is not likely that James hesitated for a moment. On March 7, four days after the Chancellor's resignation, he placed the great seal in the hands of Bacon, who was to hold it with the inferior title of Lord Keeper. The assiduous court which Bacon had paid to Buckingham preserved him from all oppo-

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 29, *ibid.* xc. 146. The warrant, adds the writer, 'sticks now I know not where, unless it be that he must give' more money. The delay was, however, merely owing to a question of etiquette. Bacon to Buckingham, April 13, *Letters and Life*, vi. 167 ; *Works*, ed. Montagu, xii. 316.

[2] Sherburn to Carleton, Feb. 23. Chamberlain to Carleton, March 15. Gerard to Carleton, March 20, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 81, 122, 135.

sition on the part of the favourite ; but his services as Attorney-General had been too marked to make any such opposition likely. For some time past the late Chancellor had lost no opportunity of speaking a good word for Bacon, and had expressly declared his wish that he might be his successor. The same exalted idea of the prerogative, the same desire to limit the jurisdiction of the Courts of Common Law, animated them both.

Yelverton to be Attorney-General.

By Bacon's promotion the Attorney-Generalship became vacant, and the King made up his mind to give the appointment to Yelverton, who had now been Solicitor-General for nearly four years. When he delivered the great seal to Bacon, he turned to the Lords who were present and said, jestingly, that he should look upon any one who spoke against Yelverton as at least half a traitor. The fortunate lawyer immediately received the congratulations of his friends upon his promotion, and was told to get the warrant ready for the royal signature.

Buckingham's opposition.

Yelverton, however, was not long in discovering that there was an obstacle in his path. The warrant was drawn up, but for many days it remained unsigned. At last he discovered that Buckingham was his enemy. He had studiously avoided asking the favourite for his patronage, and he had owed his former advancement to the good word of Somerset and the Howards. Nor was this all. Sir James Ley had offered Buckingham 10,000*l.* for the place ; and Ley was not a man whom it was any discredit to support. He had served as Chief Justice in Ireland, and, though he had been no favourite with the Dublin Catholics, he had been honoured with the thorough support of Chichester. Since his retirement from the Irish Bench he had returned to England, and had held the lucrative appointment of Attorney of the Court of Wards. It was notorious, however, that it was not his professional merits which had gained for him Buckingham's support, and the leading members of the Council were indignant at this barefaced attempt to set aside the professed intentions of the King. Sharp words were exchanged between Buckingham and Lennox. Yelverton was, however, advised by his friends

to submit to necessity, and either to make interest with the favourite, or to plead his cause with James in person. Winwood offered to take him before the King with the warrant in his hand. Yelverton, who during his whole life oscillated between rugged independence and the humblest compliance, was just now in an unbending mood. The King, he replied, had wisdom enough to choose his own servants, and he would leave the matter in his Majesty's hands. But Buckingham was either beginning to be ashamed of his conduct, or was startled by the opposition which it had provoked. He now sent for Yelverton, and assured him that he wished him well, but that he feared that if so important an office were disposed of without his influence being seen in the matter, men would fancy that he had lost credit with the King. Yelverton replied sturdily, that it was not the custom for the King's favourites to meddle with legal appointments. No doubt Buckingham would wish to be certain that the post was not occupied by an enemy, but he hoped that he had never given him reason to complain of any discourtesy. With this Buckingham professed himself satisfied, and taking the warrant to the King returned with it duly signed. That a man in Buckingham's position should have behaved in such a manner is intelligible enough. But what is to be thought of the sovereign who gave his countenance to such proceedings?

Yelverton's appointment.

A few days after this scene had taken place, Yelverton waited on the King, and told him that, though he had never promised anyone a farthing for the office, yet, as an acknowledgment of his duty, he had brought with him 4,000*l.*, which he begged his Majesty to accept. James, who had no expectation of such a windfall, jumped up, caught his Attorney-General in his arms, and, after thanking him profusely for his liberality, told him that the gift would be extremely useful, as it would enable him to buy some dishes of which he was much in need.[1]

It was the general opinion of the profession that the

[1] Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, 55. Yelverton is sometimes praised for not having taken part against Somerset, after owing his appointment

Solicitor-Generalship, thus vacated, ought to have been conferred upon Sir John Walter, the Prince's Attorney.[1] But Walter's unbending temper was a bar to his promotion. The man selected was Coventry, who had lately been appointed Recorder of the City of London. When he had been chosen to that office, James was inclined to look askance upon him, as one who had lived on familiar terms with Coke. Coventry, however, had little difficulty in persuading the King that he had no wish to join in an attack upon the prerogative. He was not a man of brilliant parts, but to the end of his life he maintained the reputation of being a good lawyer. In political questions he was said to be possessed of a sound judgment, but though he lived to hold offices of the highest political importance in times of great excitement, he never ventured to oppose his opinion, whatever it may have been, to the doctrines which happened for the moment to be in favour at Court.

Coventry Solicitor-General.

These were not the only legal preferments which at this time came into the King's hands. A few weeks later, two puisne judgeships were given to Sir John Denham and Serjeant Hutton. Both the new judges were distinguished by their legal attainments, and with respect to the independence of their character it is sufficient to say that they both lived to deliver opinions on the great case of ship money, and that neither of them could be induced to give a judgment in accordance with the wishes of the King.

May. Other legal promotions.

It is impossible to deny that the character of these appointments was eminently satisfactory. Bacon may well have been excused for thinking that the day was at last come when men of sagacity would be selected for service in the state. But the episode of Buckingham's

Character of these appointments.

as Solicitor-General to his influence, and his conduct is contrasted with that of Bacon in the trial of Essex. It may have been the case that Yelverton objected to act; but it merely rests on Weldon's word, and Weldon was sufficiently ignorant to think he was Attorney-General at the time, and was committed to the Tower for his conduct.

[1] Whitelocke, *ibid.* 54.

opposition to Yelverton was of evil augury. It was just possible that the new favourite might have received a lesson, but, unfortunately, it was not very probable.

James sets out for Scotland.

Immediately after these appointments had been made James set out for Scotland, where he purposed to remain during the summer months. He had found great difficulty in bringing together sufficient money to defray the expenses of the journey, and had consequently for some weeks been in no good humour. He had sent to prison one unlucky man who had offered to bet that not one of three events: the Prince's marriage with the Infanta, Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, and the King's journey to Scotland, would ever come to pass.[1] At last, however, the money was obtained, and James was able to set out. Bacon was of necessity left behind. He could not be spared from the duties of his new office. On May 7 he rode in state to take his seat in Chancery; and though large numbers had left London, in consequence of a proclamation directing all country gentlemen, not detained by special business, to return to their homes,[2] not less than a hundred persons of distinction presented themselves to ride in his train. As soon as he had taken his seat, the new Lord Keeper addressed his audience in a speech[3] which showed that he had made up his mind that the dispute which he had inherited from his predecessor should not degenerate into a personal altercation between the judges of the rival courts. It is true that he referred slightingly to the 'great rattle and noise of a præmunire,' with which the claim put forward by the late Lord Chancellor had been met. But he clearly stated that he should reserve the exercise of his powers for cases of proved injustice, and that he would on no account employ them to satisfy the susceptibilities of the Chancery lawyers, or the hopes of suitors who applied to a second court only because the weakness of their case made them apprehensive of failure in the

May 7. Bacon takes his seat in Chancery.

[1] Sarmiento to Lerma, Feb. $\frac{9}{19}$. *Simancas MSS.* 2596, fol. 43.

[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvii. 8.

[3] *Letters and Life*, vi. 182.

first. It was probably owing to Bacon's conciliatory language, as much as to any other cause, that any further breach was avoided; especially as he took care to follow up his public declaration not only by carrying out its principles upon the Bench, but by maintaining a friendly intercourse with the judges, an intercourse which was commenced at a magnificent banquet to which he invited them on that very day.[1]

His prospects.

To Bacon everything now was looking bright. If in his heart of hearts he could hardly believe that James was the best and wisest of kings, and Buckingham the most unassuming and unselfish of favourites, he was at least able to look at what virtues they possessed through the rosy medium of his own brilliant imagination. His view of the temper of the people was no less favourable. The storms which had agitated the last two Parliaments were, as he thought, forgotten, if indeed they were not to be altogether ascribed to the factiousness of a few hotheaded lawyers. If any dissatisfaction still remained, it would soon be removed by attention to the equal administration of justice. It would then be possible to summon Parliament again, and the Commons would at last be eager to pour out their treasures at the feet of the King.

Bacon's correspondence with Buckingham.

For some little time after the departure of the Court for Scotland, Bacon continued to correspond with the favourite upon the most friendly terms. He begged him to lay before the King a copy of his speech in Chancery. The reply told him how completely it had received his Majesty's approbation.[2] A few weeks later, the Lord Keeper was able to announce that, in the short space of a single month, his indefatigable industr had cleared off the enormous arrears of his court, and that not a single case had been left unheard.[3] Before another month had passed, a cloud had come over the scene, and the barque of his fortunes was once more drifting out to sea from the harbour which had been so laboriously gained.

June.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, May 10, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 18.

[2] Bacon to Buckingham, May 8. Buckingham to Bacon, May 18, *Letters and Life*, vi. 194, 199.

[3] Bacon to Buckingham, June 8, *ibid.* vi. 208.

The danger arose from an unexpected quarter. Bacon no doubt fancied that he should never again have to fear the opposition of the late Chief Justice. Coke himself had probably been of the same opinion. The final blow had fallen upon him like a clap of thunder. When the news of his dismissal was brought to him, the rugged old man burst into tears; but he speedily recovered himself, and bore himself as manfully as ever. When Montague sent to beg him to sell the official collar for which he had now no further use, he refused to part with it, saying that he would keep it for his posterity, in order that they might know that they had had a Chief Justice amongst their ancestors.[1] He had much to put up with. The inquiry into the correctness of his reports was still proceeding; and though the King saw him occasionally, and treated him with consideration, there was one at least of the charges against him which it was necessary to bring immediately to an issue. It was asserted that he had improperly admitted to bail a pirate, who had committed depredations upon French subjects, and, as the offender had taken advantage of the opportunity to make his escape, the French ambassador was pressing earnestly for compensation. After some haggling Coke agreed to pay 3,500*l.*, in satisfaction for the injury.[2]

November, 1616. Coke's behaviour after his disgrace. 1617.

Meanwhile the Council had been called upon to settle a still more difficult question. Coke's first wife had died in 1598, leaving him with a family of seven sons and two daughters. Before the end of the year he was married again to the grandchild of Lord Treasurer Burghley, the young and handsome widow of Sir William Hatton. From the first the union was an unhappy one. There was nothing in common between the spirited young beauty and the elderly lawyer, whose admiration was reserved for his law books and his money-bags. The very first months of their married life were spent in a struggle in which Coke attempted, not entirely with-

His relations with his wife.

[1] Castle to Miller, Nov. 19, *Court and Times of James I.*, i. 439. Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov. 23, 1616, *S. P. Dom.* lxxxix. 39.

[2] Winwood to Lake, June 2. Chamberlain to Carleton, June 4, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 57, 61.

out success, to get his wife's property into his hands, and to exclude her from all share in the estates of her former husband. The lady, on her part, testified her resentment, by refusing to bear the name of Coke, and by appealing to her powerful relatives for assistance. By their help the quarrel was hushed up for a time, and for some years no public scandal resulted from the strife.

At first it seemed as if the disgrace of the Chief Justice was likely to have a favourable effect upon his domestic relations. When his wife learned that danger was approaching, she drew closer to him than she had done for many years.[1] But it was not long before the breach was as wide as ever. One of the charges against Coke related to certain lands which had belonged to the late Lord Chancellor Hatton, who had died, owing to the Crown a debt of 42,000*l.* Elizabeth, who had to provide for the expenses of government out of a miserably inadequate revenue, knew better than to lose sight of such a sum. She therefore took possession of his estates, and leased them out till the debt was paid from the accruing rents. This lease, which had been at one time in Lady Hatton's hands, was, by some arrangement, the purpose of which we are unable to trace, transferred, in 1608, to four persons, of whom Coke was one.[2] As the annual profits of the land were in excess of the rent payable to the Crown, Coke, in his anxiety to retain the lease as long as possible, contrived to induce the heir to enter into a bond not to redeem his property by paying down the remainder of the debt. In 1616, however, the outstanding portion of the debt was actually paid on his behalf, and Coke not only lost his hold on the estate,[3] but was threatened by the Crown lawyers with penalties for his attempt to fill his own pockets at the expense of the Exchequer.[4]

The Hatton estate.

It seems that, in some way or another, Lady Hatton's in-

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, June 22, 1616, *S. P. Dom.* lxxxvii. 67.

[2] Patent Rolls, 5 Jac. 1, part 29.

[3] Grant to Rich and Hatton. Grant to Rous and Shute, July 20, 1616, *S. P. Sign Manuals*, vi. 68, 69.

[4] Act of Council, *Biog. Brit.* Article Coke, note R.

terests were affected, and that her signature was required to the release which her husband was called upon to execute. Her temper was not proof against the discovery that the estate must be surrendered. She accused her husband of doing her grievous wrong, and made up her mind to live with him no longer. One day she slipped away from the house in which he was, carrying with her all the plate and valuables upon which she could lay her hands. The quarrel became the standing jest of all the newsmongers in London. But their amusement was increased when they heard that Lady Hatton had appealed to the Privy Council against her husband's tyranny. He had threatened, she said, to indemnify himself out of the estates which had been bequeathed to her by her first husband. Coke, on his part, stoutly denied that he had said anything of the kind. For some weeks the Privy Councillors were racking their brains over the dispute. At last, some sort of superficial reconciliation was effected.[1] One of the questions at issue was the ownership of Hatton House. The Council decided that it belonged to the lady, but added a sensible recommendation, that she should allow her husband to live in it as well as herself.[2]

Coke's quarrel with his wife.

The reconciliation did not last long. Not many hours after the award of the Council was pronounced, the quarrel broke

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.* 160, fol. 238. Sherburn to Carleton, May 25. Winwood to Lake, June 2, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 43, 57. Mr. Bruce, in his preface to his Calendar of Domestic State Papers for 1634, has printed a paper in which Lady Hatton recounts her wrongs. But I confess that I hesitate to accept as evidence the statements of a lady whose memory is so bad that she assigns a date to her marriage which is some months after the birth of her first child. In the same volume will be found an account of the fortunes of Coke's eldest daughter by his second marriage.

[2] *Council Register*, June 11. It is amusing to notice Lady Hatton's oblique allusion to her husband in her will. "Having seriously considered," she says, "how I have abounded with temporal felicity while I was the happy wife of Sir W. Hatton, my first most faithful and dear deceased husband . . . with whose breath all my transitory happiness expired, and then, for want of spiritual consideration, the storms of a tempestuous life overtaking me had for so many years so far eclipsed the comfort of this life, that my very being was a burden to me," &c., *Harl. MSS.* 7193, fol. 16.

out again on a fresh subject of difference. By her marriage with Coke, Lady Hatton was the mother of two daughters. In the autumn of 1616, the younger of the two, Frances Coke, was growing up into early womanhood, and was attracting all eyes by the beauty which she inherited from her mother. Amongst those who were fascinated by her budding loveliness was Sir John Villiers, the elder brother of the favourite. His attachment was certainly not cooled by the knowledge that after the death of her parents she would be possessed of an estate valued at 1,300*l.* a-year,[1] and that it was unlikely that, even in their lifetime, they would send their daughter forth as a penniless bride.

1616. Sir John Villiers and Frances Coke.

Sir John was anxious to make this rich prize his own with as little delay as possible. But he had none of his brother's brilliancy. He was weak in mind and in body, and, if he had any sense at all, it was shown in his perception that he was far more likely to succeed through Court influence than by any attempt which he might personally make to win the affections of the lady. He accordingly placed his cause in his mother's hands.

Buckingham's mother was now married a third time to Sir Thomas Compton, a man whom she hated and despised, and to whom, as all the world knew, she had only been attracted by the prospect of sharing his wealth. Her whole heart was now set upon the congenial occupation of making provision for her family. She had succeeded so well in her speculation on the good looks of her second son, that she had no fear of failure in her present enterprise. It is true that there were few ladies who were likely to find any personal attractions in Sir John; but the prudent mother never doubted that by a judicious use of George's influence such a difficulty might easily be overcome.

Lady Compton and her children.

With Lady Hatton, at least, even this potent argument was unlikely to produce conviction. The two scheming women were too much alike to agree, and a bitter quarrel had recently broken out between them.[2]

Her intervention in her son's courtship.

[1] Indenture between Coke and Burghley, *Close Rolls*, 41 Eliz. Part 25.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, July 6, 1616, *S. P. Dom.* lxxxviii. 6.

But Lady Compton thought that something might be done with Coke. He had just been suspended from his office, and in order to avert the deprivation which was hanging over his head at the time when the marriage was first mooted, he might be willing to sacrifice not only his daughter, but his money. In spite of the temptation, Coke refused to give way. He did not indeed object to dispose of his daughter's hand to suit his own interests; but Lady Compton wanted more than this. He was told that he must give a portion of 10,000*l.* with the bride, if the King was to forgive his misdeeds. He refused to give more than two-thirds of that sum, and Lady Compton would not abate a penny of her terms.[1] Coke magniloquently told her that he would not buy the King's favour too dear. The negotiation was broken off, and he was called upon to resign his seat on the Bench.

Coke refuses to accept her terms,

As the months slipped away, Coke felt the loss of his occupation more and more. His love of money was great. His rugged temper and impatience of opposition were greater still. But greatest of all was his professional pride. If Parliament had been sitting, he would doubtless have thrown himself into opposition as vigorously as he did at a later period of his life. But there was no such chance before him. He had to sit quietly at home, whilst others administered those laws which he had grown to consider as his peculiar property. It was a hard trial, and he soon began to repent of his obstinacy, and to bethink himself whether it would not be worth while to sacrifice—not his daughter, for on that point he had never felt any difficulty, but the few thousand pounds which appeared to have caused the disaster. At last he made up his mind, and told Lady Compton that he was ready to comply with her wishes.

1617.

but afterwards relents.

It was not long before the compact reached the ears of Bacon. For the hardships of poor Frances Coke, indeed, he cared as little as his rival. It was not an age in which such sorrows ever found much sympathy.

Bacon's objections.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov. 9, 1616; March 15, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* lxxxix. 17; xc. 122.

He looked, or fancied that he looked, upon the whole matter simply as a political question. That his own personal and professional rivalry with Coke, reaching as it did through so long a series of years, had no influence on his judgment, it would be hazardous in the extreme to affirm ; but he had, at least, persuaded himself that no memory of Coke's scornful insolence rankled in his bosom. He believed that he merely saw a man whose connexion with the Government was most injurious to the King's service, attempting to force his way back into office by taking advantage of Buckingham's affection for his brothers. Unable to speak either with the favourite or the King, to warn them of the consequence of their error, his vexation vented itself upon Winwood, who had now made himself a thorough partisan of Coke, and whose wild recklessness of consequences in the affair of Raleigh's voyage was not likely to commend itself favourably to Bacon.

His quarrel with Winwood.

Even by his best friends Winwood's manner was allowed to be anything but conciliatory, and he was not likely to take much trouble to avoid a quarrel. In a few days the Lord Keeper and the Secretary had come to an open rupture. When men meet in such a temper, a little matter will kindle the hidden spark into a flame. Winwood, coming into a room where Bacon was, found a dog upon his chair. He was not in the best of tempers, and he struck the animal. "Every gentleman," was Bacon's remark, "loves a dog." A few days afterwards Bacon fancied that Winwood pressed too close to him at the Council-table, and bade him keep his distance.[1] When, some months later, the Queen, who had taken Winwood's part in the quarrel, asked Bacon what was the cause of the difference between them, he turned the matter off by answering, "Madam, I can say no more than that he is proud, and I am proud."[2]

Coke fancied himself sure of his game. He acquainted the King with his intentions,[3] and James, who was glad enough to

[1] Goodman, *Court of James*, i. 283. Chamberlain to Carleton, July 5, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 88.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 11, *S. P. Dom*, xciii. 124.

[3] Coke to Buckingham, July 15. Campbell's *Chief Justices*, i. 298.

see a provision made for Buckingham's brother, which would save him from dipping his hand into his own pocket, gave his hearty approbation to the scheme. Lady Hatton's consent, however, was still to be gained, and her husband knew that if she were to prove obstinate, he would have to find the whole of his daughter's portion instead of quartering Sir John and his bride upon the Hatton estates. Coke soon found that he had no easy task before him. Persuasion and menaces were alike in vain. Winwood, who came to his friend's assistance, could effect nothing. He left the unmanageable lady with the threat that her daughter should be married in spite of all that she could say or do.

July. Lady Hatton's opposition to the marriage.

Pressed on every side, Lady Hatton bethought herself of a device which would at least give her a little respite.[1] She drew up a form of contract, by which her daughter was to engage herself to become the wife of the Earl of Oxford, who, being at the time in Italy, could not come forward to denounce the imposture. This paper the poor child consented to sign.[2] Keeping this document for use at the last extremity, Lady Hatton left her husband's house, and carrying her daughter with her to Oatlands, committed her to the charge of her cousin, Sir Edmund Withipole.[3]

She sends her daughter to Oatlands, and afterwards to Hampton Court.

As soon as Bacon heard what had taken place, he sat down to write to Buckingham. He was not aware how completely the favourite had set his heart upon the match, and he thought that there was yet time to warn him against the personal and political disadvantages of an alliance with Coke. It would be unwise, he told him, for his brother to marry into a family in which such domestic discord prevailed, and he might find that, by so close a connexion with the disgraced Chief Justice, he had even alienated his best friends from himself. The revival of the hopes of Coke and his allies would be injurious to the King's service.

Bacon remonstrates with Buckingham.

[1] Answer of Lady Hatton. Campbell's *Chief Justices*, i. 300.

[2] Obligation of Frances Coke, July 10, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 28, i.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, July 19, *ibid.* xcii. 96.

The best thing which Buckingham could do would be to write at once to his mother prohibiting her from proceeding in the matter, at least till his own return from Scotland.[1]

It is evident that Bacon's letter did not spring from any sympathy with Frances Coke. He treated the question of her marriage as ninety-nine men out of every hundred would have treated it in those days, that is to say, as a mere question of expediency, to be argued about in much the same way as he would argue about the purchase of an estate or the imposition of a tax.[2] The position which he had taken was at least one from which he could withdraw with dignity. If Buckingham still wished the marriage to proceed, and if the King still wished to restore Coke to his seat in the Council, he had done his duty in remonstrating, and would be quite ready to carry out any orders which might be sent to him.

Coke's assault upon Oatlands.

The letter had scarcely been despatched when Lady Compton made her appearance with a request for a warrant from the Council to enable Coke to regain possession of his daughter. As Bacon had reason to believe that this would only be the first step to a forced marriage, he declined to give her any assistance, and, if the lady is to be trusted, his refusal was couched in no very

[1] Bacon to Buckingham, July 12, *Letters and Life*, vi. 223.

[2] A passage in Sir William Monson's advice to his Son, prefixed to his Naval Tracts, coming as it does, in the midst of the gravest exhortations to morality, will serve as a good example of the views entertained generally upon the subject.

"If you marry after my death," wrote the Admiral, "choose a wife as near as you can suitable to your calling, years, and condition; for such marriages are made in heaven, though celebrated on earth."

"If your estate were great, your choice might be the freer; but where the preferment of your sisters must depend upon your wife's portion, let not your fancy overrule your necessity. It is an old saying—'He that marries for love has evil days and good nights.' Consider, if you marry for affection, how long you will be raising portions for your sisters, and the misery you shall live in all the days of your life; for the greatest fortune that a man can expect is in his marriage. A wise man is known by his actions; but where passion and affection sway, that man is deprived of sense and understanding."

courteous terms. Lady Compton then appealed to Winwood, and easily obtained from him the authority which she desired. Thus fortified, she hurried down to Oatlands, accompanied by Coke. Around her carriage was gathered an armed retinue, consisting of Coke's servants, at the head of which might be distinguished his son Clement—Fighting Clem Coke, as he was called by his companions—who had warmly taken up the quarrel against his step-mother. On their arrival at Oatlands they found the door shut against them. Coke demanded entrance, in virtue of the warrant which he had in his possession. Being refused admittance, the late Chief Justice of England snatched up a log which was lying on the ground, battered in the door, and forcing his way into the house, dragged the trembling girl to the coach in which Lady Compton was waiting to receive her.

Lady Hatton appeals to the Council.

The next morning the Council had met for its usual Sunday consultation, when Lady Hatton rushed in to make complaint, in an excited tone, of the outrage which had been committed. The Council listened to her tale, and sent orders to Coke to appear before them on the following Tuesday to give account of his proceedings.

An hour or two later Lady Hatton reappeared. Her daughter, she said, was suffering from the violence to which she had been subjected, and it would be necessary to take immediate steps for her safety. A letter was accordingly addressed to Coke, directing him to surrender the young lady to the custody of the Clerk of the Council.

Coke before the Council.

On Tuesday Coke presented himself before the Board. He began by accusing Lady Hatton of a plot to carry off his daughter to France, and added an irrelevant charge against one of her servants who had been overheard slandering Sir John Villiers. He was told that it was necessary to prove accusations as well as to bring them, and that, even if he could succeed in that, he would still have to defend himself against a charge of riot. That defence was not an easy one to make. He had made no use of the warrant which he had obtained, in all probability because it directed him to apply for its

execution to the ordinary officers of the law. Having preferred to do himself justice with his own hands, he must now prove the legality of his proceedings in some other way. He accordingly declared boldly that the law would carry him out in all that he had done, whether he had been provided with a warrant or not. To the astounding doctrine that the rights of a father over his child carried with them the right of breaking into any house in which she might happen to be, the Attorney-General, naturally enough, demurred, and, in order to settle the question, it was agreed that proceedings should be commenced against Coke in the Star Chamber. In the meanwhile Yelverton busied himself in the more pleasing task of putting an end to the family quarrel. He succeeded in effecting a show of reconciliation, and Frances Coke was allowed to return to her parents, to find what comfort she could in such a house. There was now no longer any occasion for haste, and the Star Chamber proceedings were postponed till the King's pleasure could be ascertained.[1]

Bacon's letters.

As soon as the commotion had quieted down, Bacon wrote once more to Buckingham and the King. To the favourite he expressed his regret that he had received no answer to his former letter, and, assuring him that he had not changed his opinion, begged him to listen to the advice which he had given. To the King he was more explicit. He knew now that James had taken up the marriage warmly. He therefore felt that he was placed on his defence. He reiterated the arguments which he had used to establish the inexpediency of showing favour to Coke. But he acknowledged, as he could not but acknowledge, that this was a question for his Majesty to decide. If the King, after weighing his advice, resolved to proceed in the matter, he would do everything in his power to carry out his wishes. He would even use his influence with Lady Hatton to obtain her consent to the marriage. But for this he must have direct orders from the King. "For if," he said, "I should be requested in it from my Lord of Buckingham, the answer of a true friend ought to be that I had rather

[1] Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 225.

go against his mind than against his good. But your Majesty I must obey." [1]

All this reasoning fell flat upon James's ear. His dissatisfaction with Coke's late proceedings was not sharpened by any feeling of personal rivalry. He had had but one encounter with him, and from that his position had enabled him to come off victorious. We can fancy him arguing that Coke knew better now than to resist the all-powerful prerogative of the Crown. At the Council table he would be out of harm's way. He might be employed in matters of routine. There was that, too, in Bacon's letters which was certain to offend both Buckingham and his master. The suggestion that danger might arise to either from the re-admission of Coke to power, implied the possibility of their being unable to defend themselves against the turbulent lawyer. If this had been all, it would have been enough to account for James's irritation. But, in addition to Bacon's own letters, complaints were carried northwards by every post against the upstart Lord Keeper, whose head had been turned by prosperity, and who had become reckless of his duty in his desire to satisfy his hatred Buckingham replied in a few contemptuous lines, which showed how thoroughly he was out of temper. He was now displaying himself in his worst colours, impatient of advice which did not fall in with his momentary caprice. James, too, blind in his affection, could see with no eyes but those of the favoured youth, and he too wrote angrily as if the Lord Keeper had committed some great crime.[2] Upon this Bacon assured Buckingham that he had withdrawn all opposition to the match. To the King he sent a lengthy apology, assuring him that he had acted for the best, and that he was now ready to leave everything in his Majesty's

August. The King's reply.

[1] Bacon to the King, July 25. Bacon to Buckingham, July 25, *Letters and Life*, vi. 232, 235. Chamberlain to Carleton, July 19, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 96.

[2] Buckingham to Bacon, Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 237. The King's letter has not been preserved, but its tenor may be gathered from Bacon's reply. The remarks above are founded on those of Mr. Spedding. *Ibid.* vi. 241, note 1.

hands.[1] Some days afterwards he wrote again to Buckingham, telling him that he was ready to give every satisfaction to his mother.[2] If Bacon had hitherto been actuated by any sympathy with Frances Coke, or by any notion that the sacredness of marriage would be profaned by the intrigues of Coke and Buckingham, his present conduct would have been unutterably base. As it was, he did nothing of which a man in his day had any reason to be ashamed. He had done his duty by remonstrating against an act which would involve a political evil. When he learned that the King refused to listen to his remonstrances, he proceeded to carry out his Majesty's orders. To him it made no difference whether those orders were to procure a wife for Sir John Villiers, or to seal a patent conferring on him a pension out of the Exchequer.

He soon learned, however, that his motives had been grievously misapprehended at Court. Buckingham had contented himself with a dry acknowledgment of the receipt of his first letter. James indulged in a long tirade, to which Bacon could only reply that he reserved his defence till his Majesty's return.[3]

James had by this time, recrossed the Border, and was making his way southward by slow journeys. On August 28, Coke presented himself before him and was highly pleased with his reception.[4] He had a fresh petition to make. His wife, as a last resource, had lately produced the imaginary contract between her daughter and the Earl of Oxford, and he now appears to have obtained permission to summon her before the Council. At least, it was immediately after his return that she was, at his complaint, committed to custody by the Board.[5]

Coke's visit to the King.

[1] Bacon to the King, *Letters and Life*, vi. 238. Mr. Spedding believed this letter to have been written about Aug. 12.

[2] Bacon to Buckingham, Aug. 23, *ibid.* vi. 242.

[3] The King to Bacon, Aug. 25 or 26. Bacon to the King, Aug. 31, *ibid.* v. 243, 245.

[4] Lake to Winwood, Aug. 28, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 69.

[5] Complaint against Lady Hatton. Campbell's *Chief Justices*, i. 300; *Council Register*, Sept. 1 and 3.

A few days later, Yelverton went down to the King to give his version of the story. He found that Buckingham had adopted all Coke's quarrels, and used his very phrases in declaiming against the Lord Keeper and himself. "My Lord," wrote Yelverton, from Coventry, to Bacon, "I emboldened myself to assay the temper of my Lord of Buckingham to myself, and found it very fervent, misled by misinformation which yet I find he embraced as truth, and did nobly and plainly tell me he would not secretly bite, but whosoever had had any interest or tasted of the opposition to his brother's marriage he would as openly oppose them to their faces, and they should discern what favour he had by the power he would use." Such language was eminently characteristic of Buckingham. All his generous instincts were in it, marred as they were by the overweening self-confidence, and the contempt for the rights of others whenever they clashed with his own, to which two years of James's unwise and undiscriminating fondness had brought the affable youth, who had won all hearts in the days of Somerset's greatness. Everywhere, as Yelverton reported, Buckingham was speaking openly of the Lord Keeper as showing the same ingratitude to him as he had formerly shown to Essex and Somerset. Such words were no doubt the words of passion, but they were not spoken without ground. Of the warm personal affection which sometimes makes men oblivious of the claims of duty, Bacon was entirely incapable. Setting aside all untruths and misrepresentations which had reached the Court, there remained behind the revelation that Bacon had in the first place learned to love Buckingham because he hoped that his presence at Court would be conducive to the better government of the country, and that he was not willing to subordinate the cause of good government to the personal caprices of the favourite. It would have been well if the too fortunate youth could have understood that Bacon's friendship was all the better worth having because it did not, like the King's, lower itself into idolatry.

Sept. 3. Yelverton's report.

Buckingham's dissatisfaction not altogether without foundation.

The advice which Yelverton gave to Bacon was to maintain his ground boldly, and, whilst giving an unvarnished account

of all that had passed, to throw the blame upon the headstrong violence of his rival.[1]

Bacon restored to favour.

It was, perhaps, the best advice which could be given. As it would have been useless to urge on Buckingham the injury which he was inflicting on the King's government by his support to Coke, the next best thing was to show him that Bacon had been attempting to act as a friend to himself. This was at least the character which Yelverton had given of the Lord Keeper, and Yelverton's open language had not been without effect. His story had been very different from that which had been told by Coke. Buckingham had imagined Bacon as bent upon thwarting his wishes, for the sake of inflicting punishment on a political rival. He learnt to regard him as a friend, whose intentions at least were undeniably good. Two days after Yelverton's report was written, Buckingham wrote to assure him that he would no longer listen to unfavourable rumours in his absence, and to convey a promise from the King that he would keep one ear open to him.[2] After this Bacon could have but little difficulty in making his peace. He completed his success by offering to apologize in writing. Buckingham replied that he was now so well satisfied as to have forgiven everything; adding that, if the King had forgotten the past, it was entirely owing to his own intercession, and that he was sure that no other man in England could have done as much.[3]

Bacon's part in the affair.

Throughout the whole of this wretched affair, Bacon's conduct had been thoroughly consistent. He had never questioned that it was the King's business, and not his, to dispose of the patronage of the Crown; yet, it must undoubtedly have cost him something to find his opinion slighted. He did not see, or did not care to see, that the King's prostration at the feet of Buckingham was more than a temporary evil,

[1] Yelverton to Bacon, Sept. 3, *Letters and Life*, vi. 247.

[2] Buckingham to Bacon, Sept. 5, *ibid.* vi. 249.

[3] Buckingham to Bacon, *ibid.* vi. 251. Weldon's story of the meeting of Bacon and Buckingham may be dismissed at once. Perhaps he saw something on which he founded it, but who can say what it was?

or that the disease was one which would require a sharper cure than any that his statesmanship was able to administer. To see this would not only have involved his own retirement from office, and his condemnation to a life of inaction and obscurity, but it would have driven him to an acknowledgment of the insufficiency of those monarchical theories to which he clung so tenaciously. It was too late for him to discover that the work of providing checks upon the royal power would have to be commenced anew. Such discoveries are never made but by young or disappointed men. He went on from day to day, doing his work unremittingly and cheerfully; half-persuading himself that evil which he could not control was no evil at all, till at last his own errors and the errors of others drove his barque upon the rocks, and his course came to its sad and gloomy end amongst those clouds which, almost to this day, have rested heavily on his memory.

On September 28, Coke once more took his place at the Council-table.[1] It was probably on this occasion that the King delivered a speech in defence of his conduct: "I, James," he said, "am neither a god nor an angel, but a man like any other. Therefore I act like a man, and confess to loving those dear to me more than other men. You may be sure that I love the Earl of Buckingham more than anyone else, and more than you who are here assembled. I wish to speak in my own behalf, and not to have it thought to be a defect, for Jesus Christ did the same, and therefore I cannot be blamed. Christ had his John, and I have my George."[2] On the following day Coke paid the price of his restoration to favour. His daughter's marriage was celebrated at Hampton Court. The King gave away the bride.[3] Coke was in high spirits, and almost fancied himself again upon the Bench. His wife deliberately kept away. It was in vain that her daughter had written under dictation, to beg her consent to the marriage, saying, truly enough, that she was a mere child

Marriage of Frances Coke.

[1] Herbert to Carleton, Oct. 6, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 114.

[2] Gondomar to the Archduke Albert, Oct. $\frac{2}{12}$. *Madrid Palace Library.*

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 11, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 124.

without understanding in the ways of the world. She did not know, she added, what was good for her, and she might perhaps, by yielding, put an end to the sad quarrel between her parents, and regain the King's favour for her father. As for Sir John, he was well enough. He was a gentleman by birth, and she had no reason to dislike him.[1] Lady Hatton was inexorable. She would not come to the wedding. Yet, if the bridegroom had been a man capable of inspiring respect or love, the marriage might still have been a happy one. As it was, the issue of that day's work was a tragedy hardly inferior to that which sprung from the marriage of Lady Essex.

If Coke expected great things from the King, it was not long before he was undeceived. He had been restored to his seat at the Council; but he had got nothing more. In addition to the 10,000*l.* which he had originally promised to his daughter, he had redeemed by a payment of 20,000*l.* the estates which were settled upon her at his death, and there was nothing more to be extracted from him.[2] The penalty for the wicked compact was first exacted, as was most just, from the man who should have been the last to enter into it. He had sold his daughter for fairy gold, and it had turned into dust in his hands. The day would come when, weary of disappointment and neglect, he would turn round upon the system by which he had hoped to profit, and would call to account the statesman whom he hated, and the favourite whom he despised. If he had shared in Bacon's success, it is hardly likely that his eyes would have opened so readily to the abuses of the Government.

October. Coke's disappointment.

Now, that Coke had no more to give, it was time to lay siege to Lady Hatton. On November 1, all London was astonished by the news that Buckingham had driven up to the house in which she was a prisoner and, after informing her that she was now at liberty, had carried her with him to her father, the Earl of Exeter. On the 8th, she gave a grand banquet at Hatton House. The

November. Lady Hatton in favour.

[1] Frances Coke to Lady Hatton, Campbell's *Chief Justices*, i. 302.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 31, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 158

King himself, who did not think it beneath him to take part in this discreditable attempt upon the lady's purse, was present at the feast. When he accepted the invitation, he expressed a hope that she would consent to a reconciliation with her husband. She replied that if Coke came in at one door, she would walk out at the other, and she gave strict injunctions to her servants to allow neither her husband nor any of his sons to enter the house. Her anxiety was unnecessary. Coke remained quietly in his chambers at the Temple, whilst the King and the remainder of his wife's guests were enjoying the hospitalities of Hatton House. James was merry enough. He knighted four of his hostess's friends in the course of the evening, and gave her half a dozen kisses as he left the house. For some time Lady Hatton was in high favour at Court. But it soon appeared that she would struggle as hard to avoid parting with her money to her son-in-law, as she had formerly struggled to avoid sharing it with her husband.[1] A year or two later, when all other persuasions had failed, she was offered a peerage, on condition that she would make over her Corfe Castle estate to Sir John Villiers. Upon her rejection of the compact, she was told that, if she still refused, her husband would be created a baron to spite her.[2] Even such a threat as this was made in vain, and the tide of her favour sank as rapidly as it had risen.

Not many weeks after Coke's readmission to the Council, death removed his chief supporter from the scene of his former activity.[3] It may be that Winwood saw in the attempt to gain Buckingham's favour by the intrigue in which he had lately engaged a path by which his own anti-Spanish policy might regain the upper hand. But however that may have been, he was probably fortunate in the termination of his career. It can hardly be doubted that, if he had lived till the following summer, he would have shared in Raleigh's ruin.

October. Death of Winwood.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov. 8. Pory to Carleton, Nov. 8. Peyton to Carleton, Nov. *S. P. Dom.* xciv. 12, 15, 23.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, May 31, 1619, *ibid.* cix. 61.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 25 and 31, 1617, *ibid.* xciii. 140, 158.

Many were the suitors for the vacant secretaryship. Carleton hoped to succeed his political ally, and he had many friends at Court. But unluckily for his prospects, when he was last in England, Buckingham was only just rising into power, and he had not been sufficiently quicksighted to detect the necessity of bowing down before the new idol.[1]

Candidates for the secretaryship.

Lord Houghton, who, as Sir John Holles, had been fined for his audacity in questioning the verdict of the jury in Weston's trial, had arguments in his favour of a different kind. He had bought forgiveness and a peerage with 10,000*l.*, and he hoped that another 10,000*l.* would make him secretary.[2]

For some time it appeared as if no appointment would be made. James said that he had never been so well served as when, after Salisbury's death, he had been his own secretary. He therefore placed the seals in Buckingham's hands, and, making over the whole of the foreign correspondence to Lake, attempted to perform the rest of the business himself. But both James and Buckingham soon grew tired of the undertaking, and on January 8, less than three months after Winwood's death, the seals were given to Sir Robert Naunton, a quiet second-rate man, whose opinions so far corresponded with those of his predecessor, that he might be safely employed to write despatches to Protestant Courts. In return for his promotion he consented to make Buckingham's youngest brother Christopher heir to lands worth 500*l.* a year.[3]

1618. Jan. 8. Naunton appointed.

Already Buckingham and Bacon had received an almost simultaneous token of the King's regard. On January 1, the favourite rose a step in the peerage, and exchanged the Earldom for the Marquisate of Buck-

Jan. 1. Buckingham created a marquis.

[1] Carleton to Chamberlain, Nov. 8, 1617, *S. P. Holland.*

[2] Sherburn to Carleton, Nov. 7, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xciv. 11.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov. 8, 1617, *ibid.* xciv. 12, *Council Register*, Jan. 8, 1618. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Jan. $\frac{14}{24}$, 1618.

ingham. On the 7th, the Lord Keeper was elevated to the dignity of Chancellor. Six months later, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Verulam, a name which posterity has unanimously agreed to ignore.[1]

Jan. 7. Bacon Lord Chancellor.

During the spring and summer of 1617, the question of the English marriage was bandied about at Madrid between the King and the Council of State, and, between the Council of State and the Theologians. At one time Philip was inclined to throw up the whole negotiation. His third and youngest daughter, the Infanta Margaret, a child of seven years, died. She had been promised in marriage to the young Archduke John, the eldest son of Ferdinand of Styria. Ferdinand now offered to take the Infanta Maria in her sister's place. The offer was a tempting one, for the boy, if he lived, would probably be Emperor.[2] But the hope of the conversion of England was too enticing to be lightly thrown away, and the fear of driving James into the arms of the enemies of Spain was ever present to the mind of Philip's ministers. It was therefore finally determined that the Theologians should draw up articles in conformity with the opinions which they had expressed, and that these should be presented to Digby on his arrival. If he consented to the proposed guarantees, a great step, it was thought, would have been gained towards the overthrow of English Protestantism. If not, the negotiation might be protracted as long as possible, and when the breach came at last, the blame might be thrown upon the inexorable firmness of the Pope. On September 5, the articles were ready. If anything, they were even more stringent than the resolutions which the Theologians had agreed upon. In particular, James was required to promise that he would as soon as possible obtain an Act of Parliament repealing all the laws against the Catholics.[3]

1617. Course of the negotiation with Spain.

[1] On the popular name, Lord Bacon, see Mr. Spedding's observations in *Letters and Life*, vi. 316.

[2] He died a few years later. His brother, who became the Emperor Ferdinand III., was eventually the husband of the Infanta.

[3] Memoir on the state of the negotiations, May (?). Uzeda to the

How little these Spanish Theologians knew of England, appears more plainly from another paper drawn up by them on the same day. The additional proposals which it contained were not, they said, to be pressed; but they thought them to be such as might be laid before Digby, if a favourable opportunity occurred. The demands thus made were certainly startling. The Prince was to be asked to change his religion. Public liberty of worship was to be granted to the Catholics, with permission to erect churches wherever they pleased, a permission which was to be duly confirmed by Act of Parliament. Lastly, Catholic professors were to be allowed to teach in the universities.[1]

September. Additional proposals of the Theologians.

These preposterous demands were not adopted by the Spanish Government. The other articles were placed in the hands of Aliaga, the King's confessor, the only one amongst the Theologians who was allowed to speak a word to Digby on the subject.[2] In the previous discussions, Aliaga's voice had always been raised against unnecessary concessions, and it was therefore supposed that he would be more likely to hold his own in the diplomatic struggle which was impending.

Negotiations opened with Digby.

No sooner had Digby arrived, than he was asked by Aliaga whether he was prepared to grant liberty of conscience,—that is to say, not merely connivance at the breach of the penal statutes, but a total repeal of the statutes themselves. Digby replied with courtesy. He should be glad, he said, to see

Cardinal of Toledo, Aug. $\frac{4,\ 16,}{14,\ 26.}$ Articles drawn up by the Theologians, Sept. $\frac{5,}{15,}$ 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2859, fol. 11, 12, 13; 2518, fol. 41. M. Guizot has inferred from the Consultas of July $\frac{7,}{17,}$ and $\frac{\text{July } 24,}{\text{Aug. } 3,}$ that the only intention of the Spanish Government was to spin out the negotiations. (*Un Projet de Mariage Royale*, 60.) The papers containing evidence of the scheme for the conversion of England do not seem to have fallen into his hands.

[1] Additional articles, Sept. $\frac{5,}{15,}$ 1617, *Francisco de Jesus*, App. 5.

[2] Lerma to Aliaga and others, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 24}{\text{Oct. } 4.}$ Consulta of the Council of State, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 30,}{\text{Oct. } 10,}$ 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2859, fol. 21; 2518, fol. 36.

such a change in the law, but for the present at least it was absolutely impracticable. The consent of Parliament must be obtained, and no possible Parliament would consent to the measure on any consideration whatever. He had brought no instructions relating to the English Catholics. It was a matter which must be reserved for direct negotiation with his master. All that he was empowered to do was to discuss the articles relating to the Infanta and her household, and to come to an understanding on the amount of the portion to be paid by the King of Spain.

Aliaga at once saw that the struggle on the point in which he was chiefly interested must be postponed. He was far too skilful not to perceive that it was his interest to avoid all irritating topics for the present. Instead, therefore, of producing the proposals of the Theologians, he opened the discussion upon Digby's twenty articles with a determination to send him away as well pleased as possible. Ignorant as he was of the Spaniard's real feelings, Digby was delighted with his reception. Everything, he assured James in his despatches, was going on well. Some slight alterations in the articles had been demanded, and he had noted them down for reference to England. As to the portion, the full sum of 600,000*l.* would be given, and he had been assured that if the King of England would only give satisfaction on the point of religion, he should have nothing to complain of with respect to money.[1]

1618. Digby's conferences with Aliaga.

May. Digby returns to England.

After a few months' stay at Madrid, Digby's work was completed. He hastened his return to England, in order that the important question of toleration might be settled before Gondomar left his post. But the Spanish diplomatist was unable to bring even James to consent to the new and exorbitant terms which were now demanded by his master. James, indeed, was ready to promise anything in vague generalities. He would

James unable to promise toleration.

[1] Paper given by Digby to Aliaga, Dec. $\frac{19}{29}$. Digby to Aliaga, Feb. $\frac{9}{19}$. Memoir on the state of the negotiations, March (?), *Simancas MSS.* 2859, fol. 30, 28, 36. Digby to the King, Oct. 8, Jan. 15 and March 20, *S. P. Spain. Francisco De Jesus*, 18.

do everything that he could, but the revocation of the penal laws was not his to grant.[1]

It was not that James was in any way desirous of drawing back. Not only had he assured Gondomar in the warmest terms of his desire that the marriage should take place, but he had added that he was well aware that it could not take place unless satisfaction were given to the Pope with respect to the treatment of the English Catholics.[2] A Spanish marriage, he said on another occasion, was incompatible with a persecution of the Catholics.[3]

James did his best to prove by his acts the sincerity of his words. He sent over as a gift to the Archduke Albert the golden crucifix which had been used by Queen Mary.[4] He offered to liberate sixty priests who were in prison, and to allow them to leave the country with Gondomar, and this number was afterwards increased to more than a hundred. Gondomar was even more hopeful of the Prince's good-will than he was of the King's. He had already suggested to him that, if his father did not agree to the necessary terms, he might obtain his bride by wooing her in person at Madrid.[5]

Yet, in spite of all that James or Charles might say or do, Gondomar knew that he had not obtained the concessions which were indispensable if the Pope's consent was to be given. It seemed to him that, after four years of constant discussion, the project, from which so much had been hoped on both sides, had come to nothing. James could not give way if he would, and Lerma, speaking in Philip's name, would not give way if he could. If, indeed, circumstances were to arise which would make it more than ordinarily important to humour the King of England, it was still possible that Lerma might be induced, at least in appearance, to recon-

The negotiation suspended.

[1] *Francisco de Jesus*, 22–24.

[2] The Bishop of Otranto to Borghese, Feb. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Roman Transcripts, R. O.*

[3] Gondomar to Philip III., June $\frac{16}{26}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

[4] The Bishop of Otranto to Borghese, April $\frac{11}{21}$, *Roman Transcripts, R. O.*

[5] Gondomar to Philip III., June $\frac{14}{24}$, *Madrid Palace Library.* Gondomar to Philip III., July $\frac{5}{15}$ *Simancas MSS.* 2524, fol. 77.

sider his decision. But, for the present, it seemed hardly likely that anything of the kind would take place. Yet neither party was willing to break off the negotiation. James could not so easily give up all hope of the 600,000*l.* which were to have paid his debts, and he was equally reluctant to abandon that close alliance with Spain which was the corner-stone of his foreign policy. He persuaded himself that the treaty was still on foot, and that the Spanish Government, after receiving Gondomar's report, would probably be satisfied without any express grant of toleration to the English Catholics. Lerma was not likely to wish to undeceive him. He would have counted it a good stroke of policy, if he could have gone on bandying the marriage backwards and forwards between London and Madrid at least as long as there was a single French princess left unmarried.

The other negotiation with which Digby, who had recently been raised to the peerage, as Lord Digby of Sherborne, had been entrusted had hardly reached a more promising stage. Before he left London in 1617, one obstacle indeed had been cleared out of the way of the expedition against Algiers. The Dutch had refused to hear of any co-operation with the Spanish fleet,[1] and Digby was therefore spared the annoyance of proposing to unwilling ears a close alliance between the countrymen of Alva and the countrymen of Heemskerk. Even if the English fleet were to come alone, the prospect could not fail to be most distasteful to the Spanish ministers. They listened to Digby's arguments, but it was only after a delay of several months that they replied that the English might come if they pleased, but that under no circumstances could the two nations act together. Such was the promising commencement of that alliance which was to be the guarantee for the peace of Europe.[2]

1617. The proposed expedition against the pirates.

1618.

[1] Lake to Carleton, May 6. Winwood to Carleton, June 4. Carleton to Lake, June 7. Carleton to Winwood, Aug. 12, *Carleton Letters*, 135, 136, 148, 160.

[2] Consultas of the Council of State, Oct. 30, Nov. 25, Nov. 9, Dec. 5, 1617. Philip III. to Gondomar, March 22, April 1. Consulta of the Council of War, April 14, 24. Con-

Even this amount of cordiality did not last long. Not many days after the concession had been made, news arrived from America that a Spanish town had been burned to the ground, and that Spaniards had been massacred by a band of Englishmen.[1] The Government at Madrid at once caught at the excuse, and refused to say anything more about the pirates till reparation had been made.[2] For the jealousy with which Spaniards regarded the entry of armed Englishmen into the Straits of Gibraltar was as nothing to the jealousy with which they regarded their presence in the Indies.

sulta of the Council of State, April $\frac{18}{28}$, 1618. *Simancas MSS.* 2850, fol. 13, 22, 25, 26.

[1] Philip III. to Gondomar, $\frac{\text{May } 30}{\text{June } 9}$, 1618, *ibid.* 2572, fol. 312.

[2] Sanchez to Philip III., Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1619, *ibid.* 2599, fol. 40.

CHAPTER XXV.

RALEIGH'S LAST VOYAGE.

To understand the causes of the displeasure of the Spanish Government, it is necessary to go back to the time when, more than a year before, Raleigh was setting out on his voyage. On March 29, 1617, he left London to join his ship at Dover, from whence he made the best of his way to Plymouth. Already, as he lay in that fair harbour, where the sloping woods and the rocky shores must have been fraught for him with memories of happier days, the shadows were falling thickly upon him. One of his captains, Sir Warham St. Leger, had been detained in the Downs by an accident to his vessel. His vice-admiral, Pennington, one of the most promising seamen of the day, had been stopped off the Isle of Wight for want of money, and had been unable to persuade the bakers to supply his ship with bread for the voyage. In despair, he had ridden up to London to appeal for help to Lady Raleigh. Poor Lady Raleigh had no money to give him; but she wrote to a friend at Portsmouth, who advanced the requisite 30*l.* to enable him to provision his ship. Two others of Raleigh's captains were in similar difficulties, and it was only by selling his plate that he was able to provide for their necessities.[1]

March 29. Raleigh leaves London.

There can have been few in England who had much hope of Raleigh's success. If he himself did not despair, it was only because he was determined that, whatever means he was

[1] Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 117; *Edwards*, i. 600.

driven to use, he would not fail. As he was passing the Isle of Wight he was joined by Faige, the emissary whom he had despatched to Montmorency, and he immediately sent him back to France to complete the arrangements with which he had been charged.[1] Faige returned to him at Plymouth, bringing a letter from Montmorency, by which the Admiral of France bound himself to do his best to obtain from the King permission for him to put into a French port on his return with his ships and men, together with any goods which he might have acquired by trade or otherwise.[2]

His negotiations with Montmorency.

Since Raleigh had left London, an event had occurred in Paris which served to raise his hopes of receiving assistance from the French Government. Louis had long borne with equanimity his exclusion from power by his mother and his mother's favourite Concini, who was now known as the Marshal of Ancre. His nature was singularly sluggish, and he loved better to amuse himself with his dogs and his falcons than to trouble himself with affairs of state. But there were others who were not equally resigned to insignificance. Luynes, the page who kept his hawks, and Vitry, the captain of his guard, hated Ancre as a rival, and they had little difficulty in obtaining from their master an order for the assassination of a man whom he was unable, king as he was, to reach in any other way. The upstart Italian was, accordingly, cut down in the streets of Paris, amidst the plaudits of the whole nation.

Murder of Ancre.

The cry of exultation which was raised in France was echoed in all Protestant lands.[3] The Queen-Mother had always been regarded as the chief supporter of the Spanish party. Even James was carried away by the tide, and for once found himself giving expression to opinions in complete accordance with those of Winwood and Raleigh. No doubt their reasons

[1] Examination of Belle, March $\frac{10}{20}$, 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 56.

[2] He was to be admitted "avec tous ses ports, navires, equipages, et biens par lui traités ou conquis." Declaration by Montmorency, $\frac{\text{April } 27}{\text{May } 7}$, 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 64.

[3] In England, a play was written on the subject, which was interdicted by the Government. Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, i. 408.

were very different. James wrote to congratulate the young sovereign of France, because he had released himself — no matter by what means—from the domination of a subject.[1] Raleigh wrote to congratulate the French statesmen who were his friends, because he hoped that France had, once for all, shaken off the yoke of Spain.[2] With grim facetiousness, Winwood sent his congratulations to Gondomar, upon the happy change which had taken place in France.[3]

The letter in which Raleigh expressed his joy at Ancre's murder was carried by Faige,[4] who took with him another French seaman, named Belle, who was equally in Raleigh's confidence. They were to take charge of four French vessels which were fitting out at Havre and Dieppe, and to follow the English squadron to the mouth of the Orinoco.[5]

Faige returns to France.

[1] The original holograph letter is in the *Bibl. Nationale.*

[2] Raleigh to Bisseaux, May $\frac{14}{24}$, 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2595, fol. 65.

[3] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{April } 24}{\text{May } 4}$, 1617.

[4] Mr. Edwards (ii. 345) asks what became of the answer to this, and how Raleigh's letter in the original came to be carried to Madrid. He will see that the letter was never delivered, and therefore remained in possession of the bearer.

[5] Compare Raleigh's letter to Bisseaux, with Belle's examination, March $\frac{10}{20}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 56. In the minutes of Gondomar's despatches of Oct. $\frac{12}{22}$, Nov. $\frac{5}{15}$, the following passage occurs :—"El Conde de Gondomar . . . ha savido que desde allí," *i.e.* the Canaries, "escrivió el dicho Gualtero al Conde de Sutanton que le avia parecido la mejor resolucion de todas, esperar en aquellas islas la flota de España que trae la plata, y que con algunos navios Franceses que se le avian juntado, se hallava tan fuerte que esparava no se escaparia ninguna parte della." As it stands, this is, of course, inadmissible. No French ships joined Raleigh at the Canaries. But as nothing was known about Faige in London or Madrid at this time, it is hardly likely that it is all pure invention. May not Raleigh have written that, if he were joined by the French ships, he intended to attack the Spanish fleet? Some such plan had been proposed apparently some years before, when James had been requested by the Duke of Rohan to set Raleigh free. Being reminded of this after his return, Raleigh answered, "that for his negotiation with the Prince of Rohan and his brother, he confessed there was a purpose, with seven or eight good ships to be furnished by the French, to set upon the Indian

As usual, Raleigh had not chosen his confidants wisely. Faige and Belle had no thought of executing his orders. They seem to have preferred the chances of a commercial voyage in the Mediterranean to the risk of hard blows in the Indies.[1] They did not gain much by the change. The vessel in which they sailed was taken by pirates. Faige, landing at Genoa without a penny, soon found himself within the walls of a debtor's prison. Belle made his way to Rome. He unbosomed himself to his confessor, and was, at his own request, sent to Madrid to tell his story there.[2] Raleigh, he said, intended to commence by an examination of the mine; after which, if it proved to be of any value, he was to attack Trinidad and Margarita. As soon as he had done what damage he could by sea and land, he would return to Europe for reinforcements.[3] The Spanish Government

The plan betrayed to the Spaniards.

fleet as they came homeward, or else missing it, to pass on to the mine; and he saith that the cause that this succeeded not, was that your Majesty would not let him go to the Prince of Rohan, having denied him before to the King of Denmark, who would have had him for his Admiral." Wilson to the King, Oct. 4, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 16.

[1] Belle's statement, that he left Raleigh because he did not like to join a party of Huguenots, is, of course, only to be taken for what it is worth. But I do not see that a flourish of this kind discredits his statements in other respects.

[2] Cardinal Borja to Arostegui, enclosing Belle's memorial, Nov. $\frac{13}{23}$, 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 1866, fol. 191.

[3] "Preguntandole que intencion llevaba Guatterale, y la navegacion que avia de hazer, dixo la costa hasta el rio Orinoco, y reconocer una mina que hay allí cerca de la boca, y aviendo reconocido la sustancia y riqueza que tenia, volverse corriendo la costa la vuelta de la Trinidad y Margarita con intento de tomarlos; haziendo el daño que pudiesse en mar y tierra, y volver á rehacerse de gente y navios para hazer segundo viaje á Orinoco." Belle's Examination, March $\frac{10}{20}$, 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 56.

Of the genuineness of these papers there cannot be the slightest doubt. The internal evidence is in their favour. They tell much less than a forger would have made them tell. The sentence given above is all that refers to Raleigh's intentions. Everything of importance is left for Faige to tell by word of mouth. Raleigh's autograph signature to the letter to De Bisseaux is unmistakable, excepting on the supposition of a skilful forgery, which would have been useless unless these papers were to be made public, which they never were. Besides, Raleigh afterwards, as will be seen, acknow-

listened to his tale, took from him what papers he had, and tossed him a hundred ducats to pay his expenses back to Dieppe.[1]

Raleigh's intentions.

What may have been the exact scheme which had taken possession of Raleigh's mind, it is of course impossible to say. Belle may have exaggerated what he heard, or Raleigh, as his wont was, may have flung about his words at random. Raleigh's own account of the matter, given at a time when he was no longer able to conceal that he had sailed with the intention of breaking his promise to James, was that he intended to use the Frenchmen in an attack upon San Thomè, whilst he was himself making the best of his way to the mine.[2] But that the purpose of attacking Trinidad and Margarita was at least floating in his head, is probable enough. That the discovery of the mine, if it was to be of any use,

ledged having received the letter from Montmorency. It is another question whether Belle told a true story. I incline to think he did, partly because it is in itself probable, and partly because, if he had invented his account, he would have invented something much more stirring. Of course it does not follow that Raleigh may not have been speaking loosely. It is possible to pick holes in every piece of evidence brought in his disfavour. The strength of the case against him lies in the fact that a variety of independent witnesses give evidence which all tends to the same point. Mr. St. John, in his *Life of Raleigh*, says (ii. 230, note):—"To these pirates Raleigh is said to have intrusted his letters to Montmorency, of which, though they must have delivered them, since answers they said were sent, they yet pretended to possess the originals." This is, however, a mistake. The only original produced was the one to De Bisseaux, which was never delivered; it is of this particular letter that Belle says, "y esta carta me la ha entregado original."

[1] Consulta of the Council of State, $\frac{\text{June } 23}{\text{July } 3}$, 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2515, fol. 6. Belle appears not to have asked for any reward beyond the payment of his expenses, which is in his favour. The hundred ducats were only equivalent to 25*l.*

[2] After his return, Raleigh was reported by Wilson to the King as having said "that his first dealing with Captain Faige was well known to your Majesty." That is to say, I suppose, his sending him to Montmorency, for permission to take shelter in France, 'and his last at Plymouth about bringing French ships and men to him to displant the Spaniards at San Thomè, that the English might after pass up to the mine without offence.' Wilson to the King, Oct. 4, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 16.

would ultimately lead to war with Spain, no man knew better than Raleigh; and it was to the mine that he looked for the golden key which would enable him to open the way to James's favour. The idea that it was possible to establish a peaceable colony around a gold mine in the centre of the Spanish Indies, was, as he knew perfectly well, the veriest hallucination that had ever crossed a madman's brain. Yet it was to this foolish and impracticable plan that he was pledged by the most solemn promises to confine himself. He must look to success alone to redeem the pledges by which he was bound. If, as soon as he had found the mine, he could strike a blow which would weaken the hold of Spain upon the whole district of the Orinoco, he would be able, upon his return, to present to England or to France—it hardly mattered to which—the attractive bait of a golden treasure, the guardians of which had been already overpowered.

With a mind full of anxiety for the future, Raleigh prepared for sea.[1] On June 12 his little squadron of fourteen vessels set sail from Plymouth. Disaster attended him from the first. The winds were contrary, and he was forced to seek for shelter in Falmouth harbour. Again he put to sea, and again the storm swept down upon his course. One of his vessels sank before his eyes. Another was driven for refuge to Bristol. With the shattered remnants of his fleet he found safety in the harbour of Cork. It was not till August 19 that he was once more ready to venture upon the Atlantic.

Raleigh leaves Plymouth.

He is driven into Cork.

On September 7, the fleet cast anchor at Lanzarote, one of the Canaries. The Spanish governor, who had, no doubt, been warned of Raleigh's approach, regarded him with suspicion. He withdrew his troops to the interior of the island, and refused to furnish the English with the provisions of which they were much in need. Two of Raleigh's sailors, wandering about the island, fell in with the Spanish sentinels, and lost their lives in attempting to drive

His proceedings at the Canaries.

[1] Raleigh's orders have often been quoted as a model of forethought and perspicuity. They show his anxiety not to fight unless attacked by the Spaniards, at least till he reached the Orinoco.

them from their post. It was not without difficulty that Raleigh prevented his crews from marching in a body to revenge their comrades. Being unable to conciliate the governor, he sailed away for the Grand Canary, where he met with an equally inhospitable reception. Not only was permission to buy provisions refused, but an attack was made upon his men as they were filling their water-casks on the beach. At Gomera, Raleigh was more successful. He persuaded the governor that he was not a pirate, and was allowed to take in fresh provisions and water in peace.[1]

Annoyances of this kind were nothing more than the ordinary difficulties which such men as Raleigh were accustomed to expect. The insubordination which manifested itself in his fleet was a very different matter. He had long known how terribly the policy of James had told upon the discipline of his crews. He now learned that the infection had spread to the officers. One of his commanders, Captain Bailey, had captured some small French vessels before arriving at the Canaries, and wished to detain them on the plea that part of their cargoes was the produce of piracy. Raleigh told him that, even if this were the case, the Frenchmen were justified by the doctrine of 'No peace beyond the line.'[2] At this Bailey took offence, and, slipping away from the fleet, made the best of his way to England. On his arrival, he gave out that Raleigh was going to turn pirate, and was perhaps meditating high treason itself. If Gondomar is to be believed, Raleigh had written to the Earl of Southampton a letter from the Canaries which showed that it had not been without some struggle with himself that he had gone on his way peacefully. He had resolved, he wrote, with the help of the French vessels which he had overtaken, to await the arrival of the Spanish treasure fleet. Southampton appears to have published the

Desertion of Bailey.

[1] Raleigh's Diary. *Discovery of Guiana*, 179. *Carew Letters*, 134. Memoir of Lorenzo de Torres, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 35. An English prisoner taken on the Grand Canary, being asked where Raleigh was going, prudently answered, that he was bound for Virginia, or anywhere else that suited him better.

[2] Raleigh's Apology, *Carew Letters*, 129.

news which he had thus received, and the feeling of satisfaction aroused by the prospect of a telling blow being struck at Spain was very general.[1] Bailey was immediately summoned before the Council, and committed to prison for traducing his commander. He was only liberated, after an imprisonment of seven weeks, upon making a humble acknowledgment of his offence.[2] Here, at least, no traces are to be found of that settled design to ruin Raleigh which is sometimes attributed to the Government.

Sufferings on the voyage.

It seemed as if the elements were leagued against the ill-fated squadron. Raleigh made for the Cape de Verde Islands, intending to replenish his empty water-casks. He had not cast anchor many hours before a hurricane swept down upon him in the darkness of the night. The cables parted, and, with imminent risk of shipwreck, the whole fleet was driven out to sea. It was in vain that Raleigh attempted to regain the anchorage. The storm continued to rage, and, with a heavy heart, he gave orders to steer for the coast of Guiana. According to all ordinary calculations, it was a passage of fifteen, or, at the most, of twenty days ; but in this voyage all ordinary calculations were at fault. For forty days, calms and contrary winds detained him upon the Atlantic. The tropical rains came plashing down through the sultry air. Water was running short, and the want of fresh provisions was severely felt. Sickness was raging amongst the crews, and scarcely a day passed in which Raleigh had not to chronicle, in the sad diary which he kept,[3] the death of some one of those whom he valued most. One day he was grieving over the loss of his principal refiner, upon whose services he had counted. Then it was one of his cousins who was gone. In a single day five corpses were cast overboard, and amongst them those of Captain Pigott, who was to have been second in command of the land forces, and of John Talbot, who had lived with him during the whole

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., Oct. $\frac{12}{22}$. *Madrid Palace Library.*

[2] Proceedings before the Privy Council, Jan. 11, 1618. *Camden Miscellany*, vol. v. *Carew Letters*, 133, 138.

[3] Raleigh's Diary in Schomburgk's edition of *The Discovery of Guiana*, 185-197.

of his imprisonment in the Tower, and who was, as it stands recorded in the diary, "an excellent general scholar, and a faithful, true man as ever lived." Three days afterwards another of his captains died. Next it was his cousin Peyton. So the list is lengthened, including only those names which were held by the writer in special remembrance, and passing by the forgotten misery of the nameless mariners who were never again to see their English homes, and whose bones are resting beneath the broad Atlantic.

Raleigh's illness.

At last Raleigh himself was struck down by fever. For ten days he was lying in his cot, tossing restlessly in his pain, and eating nothing except now and then a stewed prune. When at last the joyful cry of "Land!" was heard, the admiral was unable to come upon deck to gaze upon the coast on which all his hopes were fixed. It would have been well for him if he had found a sailor's grave within sight of the shores which he longed so earnestly to reach.

Raleigh in the Oyapok;

Raleigh had struck the coast near the mouth of the Oyapok. As soon as the anchor touched the ground, he sent a boat to inquire for his old Indian servant, Leonard, who had once lived with him in England for three or four years. After his return home Leonard had not forgotten his master. Raleigh notes that he had cared for 'Mr. Harcourt's brother and fifty of his men when they came upon that coast and were in extreme distress, having neither meat to carry them home, nor means to live there but by the help of this Indian, whom they made believe that they were my men.'[1] Such was the spell which Raleigh's name still exercised in Guiana. But Leonard was not to be found, and the squadron stood away for the mouth of the Cayenne in search of a better anchorage.

and in the Cayenne.

From the Cayenne, Raleigh wrote to his wife by one of his captains who was returning. He was beginning to see that he had undertaken the voyage on conditions which made success almost impossible. Forty-two of his men, he said, had died upon the voyage, and the rest were mutinous and discontented. The future was very dark. No doubt Gondomar had warned his master, and it was not unlikely that the Orinoco

[1] *Raleigh's Diary.*

was already fortified. Yet, come what might, he would not flinch. "We can make the adventure," he wrote, "and if we perish it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his Majesty, to lose among many others, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it. Remember my services," he added, "to Lord Carew and Mr. Secretary Winwood. I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries." Yet there was one bright gleam of sunshine amidst the clouds. Here, too, the Indians had not forgotten the one white man who had treated them like brothers. "To tell you," he said, "that I might be King of the Indians were but vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields."[1]

He prepares for his ascent of the Orinoco.

As Raleigh looked on his men, he must have felt that their temper was not such as to warrant high hopes of success. On the passage out he had done his best to encourage them, not always wisely. He had told them that, if the mine failed, they had the Mexico fleet to

[1] Raleigh to Lady Raleigh, Nov. 14, 1617, *Edwards*, ii. 347. A favourable account of Raleigh's prospects went home by Captain Alley, who returned in a Dutch vessel. It was published as "News from Guiana." Bad rumours too accompanied it, as appears from the following extract:—"Ha llegado aquí ahora á Porsemua un navio que viene de donde está Gualtero Rallé, y dize que en el viaje se le ha muerto mucha gente de la mejor que llevaba, y el maestro de su Capitana; y que assí havia errado el puerto del rio de Arenoco, donde iva á buscar la mina, y se avia entrado en un puerto donde eran tales las corrientes hazia dentro, que podria mal salir dél, que iva ya teniendo gran falta de bastimientos, que la mas de la gente estaba desesperada, y que haviendole dado á este navio algunas cartas para traer aquí, el Rallé las avia despues tomado, y . . . abrió una de un Cavallero que avisaba aquí á otro amigo suyo la miseria en que estavan, y dezia que, si no se mejoraban las cosas, estaban todos resueltos de hechar al Gualtero Rallé en la mar, y volverse; que el Gualtero Rallé avia querido prender á este Cavallero, mostrandole su carta, y los demas no le avian consentido, y conformanse todos que vienen en este navio en que esperan muy mal suceso de este viaje de Gualtero Rallé, y de los que están con él, y les pareze que si continuan la empresa se perderán ó se harán piratas los que pudieran salir de allí, y este es lo que yo tengo por mas cierto." Gondomar to Philip III. April 25, May 5, 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2597, fol. 62.

fall back upon.[1] Such exhortations had proved but a poor substitute for the stern, self-denying sense of duty by which the vilest natures are sometimes overawed.

For the present, at least, he had nobler work to do. As soon as he was able to move, he put off for the Triangle Isles,[2] to complete his preparations. Of the ten vessels which remained to him after the accidents of the voyage, five only were of sufficiently light draught to pass the shoals at the mouth of the Orinoco. In these he placed one hundred and fifty sailors, and two hundred and fifty fighting men. If he had been able to take the command in person, all might yet have gone well; but the fever had left him very weak, and he was still unable to walk. Even if he had been in perfect health, there was another obstacle in the way. His followers had been ready enough to grumble at him; but when the time of trial came, they knew well enough what his value was. The officers who had been told off for the service flocked round him, and with one voice declared that, unless he remained behind, they would refuse to go. A Spanish fleet might be upon them at any moment, and Raleigh was the only man who could be trusted not to take flight at the approach of danger. They could place confidence in his word, and in his alone, that he would not

[1] It is expressly stated in the King's Declaration that Raleigh spoke of taking the Mexico fleet before as well as after the failure at the mine. In this case, the Declaration is supported by Sir J. Cæsar's notes of Raleigh's examination (*Lansd. MSS.* 142, fol. 396. *Camden Miscellany*, vol. v.). "And being confronted with Captains St. Leger and Pennington, confesseth, that he proposed the taking of the Mexico fleet if the mine failed." If a proposal subsequent to the disaster at San Thomè had been meant, it would have been "after the mine failed." It cannot be said, that these two witnesses are weak ones. In his letter to Winwood (*Edwards*, ii. 350), Raleigh writes: "The second ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain John Pennington, of whom, to do him right, I dare say, he is one of the sufficientest gentlemen for the sea that England hath. The third by Sir Warham St. Leger, an exceeding valiant and worthy gentleman." Nor is it fair to say, as is sometimes done, that Cæsar's notes are only rough ones. He was an experienced note-taker, always ready whenever any case of interest occurred; and the chance of mistake is diminished to a minimum by his concordance on this point with Bacon.

[2] Now known as the Isles de Salut.

expose them to certain destruction by leaving the entrance to the river open. Raleigh gave them the promise they required. He assured them that, if the enemy arrived, he would fight to the last ; but that he would never desert his post.[1]

He is left at the mouth of the river.

On this condition they agreed to go ; but who was to take Raleigh's place in command of the expedition? Pigott had died on the passage, and St. Leger was lying sick on board his ship. Keymis was therefore entrusted with the general supervision of the force. He knew the country well, and he was the only man there who had set eyes upon the spot where the mine was supposed to be. He was brave and faithful ; but there his qualifications ended. Intelligence, forethought, and rapidity of decision were wanting to him.

The land forces were placed under the command of George Raleigh, a nephew of the Admiral. He was a young man of spirit, and that was all that could be said in his favour. Under him, served, at the head of a company, Raleigh's eldest son, Walter, whose life was more precious to his father than all the gold in America.

His instructions to Keymis.

Whatever else may have been in Raleigh's mind, there was no thought of paying the slightest attention to his promise to the King. In considering what was to be done, there had been some talk about an attack upon the Spanish town as a preliminary to the search for the mine ;[2] for the woods, as Raleigh knew, were thick, and he hesitated to entangle his men amongst them, lest they should be cut off by the Spaniards before they could regain their boats. "It would be well," said Raleigh, "to take the town at once." "But," replied one of those who were standing by, "that will break the peace." "I have order, by word of mouth from the King and Council," answered Raleigh, with unblush-

[1] Raleigh's Diary. *Discovery of Guiana*, 202. Raleigh to Winwood, March 21, 1618. Raleigh's Apology. Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 106, 124.

[2] The statement to this effect in the Declaration is borne out by Raleigh's own words in the Address to Lord Carew. Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 138.

ing effrontery, 'to take the town if it is any hindrance to the digging of the mine.' [1]

At last, however, he decided against this plan, and gave directions that when the expedition drew near the mine, Keymis should take with him six or seven men to explore the ground, leaving the rest of his companions some little distance lower down. Scarcely, however, had the flotilla started, when Raleigh changed his mind, and sent a letter after Keymis. Some Indian might be lurking on the bank, and seeing a boatload of Englishmen land, might carry the news to the Spaniards. Before they could return from the mine, the enemy would have time to cut them off from the river. It would therefore be more prudent to take the whole number to the landing-place. From that point the mine was only three miles distant. It would be easy to post the soldiers in advance, so as to guard the road. If the mine proved not so rich as was expected, Keymis was to bring away a basket or two of ore, as proof of its actual existence. But if, as was hoped, gold were discovered in abundance, the troops were to remain at their post to guard the working party from aggression. If they were attacked by the Spaniards, 'then,' he wrote, 'let the Sergeant-Major repel them, if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can.'

One contingency remained to be provided for. A rumour had reached him in the Cayenne, that a large Spanish force had already made its way up the river. For this case his instructions to Keymis were clear. "If," he continued, "without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and other captains, you cannot pass toward the mine, then be well advised how you land. For I know"—and we can fancy how the fire flashed from his eyes as he wrote the words—"I know, a few gentlemen excepted, what a scum of men you have, and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniard to the dishonour of our nation. I, myself, for my weakness, cannot be present, neither will the company land except I stay with the ships, the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Pigott, the sergeant-major, is dead; Sir Warham, my lieutenant, without hope of life; and my nephew,

[1] This stands on the authority of the Declaration, upon which I am quite ready to accept it.

your serjeant-major now, but a young man. It is, therefore, on your judgment that I rely, whom I trust God will direct for the best. Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at Punto Gallo, dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, yet you shall find their ashes. For I will fire with the galleons, if it come to extremity; but run away I will never."[1] Braver words it was impossible to utter. Wiser instructions than these last it was impossible to frame, unless he had been prepared to think his promise to the King was worth keeping at the risk of the overthrow of the enterprise. One thing alone was wanting. He could not put his own head upon Keymis's shoulders. The crisis of his fortunes had come, and he had to stand aside whilst the stake upon which his life and his honour were set was being played for by rough sailors and beardless boys.

For three weeks Keymis and his followers struggled against the current of the Orinoco. Two out of his five vessels ran aground upon a shoal. But on the morning of January 2, the remaining three had passed the head of the delta. The wind was favourable, and the weary crews might hope that either that evening, or the following morning, they would reach the place from whence a walk of a few miles would bring them to the golden mine, for the sake of which they had risked their lives.

1618. The expedition up the Orinoco.

It was mid-day when a sight met their eyes by which they must have been entirely disconcerted; for there, upon the river-bank in front of them, a cluster of huts appeared. A new San Thomè, as they afterwards learned, had risen to break the stillness of the forest. All hope of reaching the mine unobserved was at an end.

The new San Thomè seen,

It was at such a moment that the want of Raleigh's presence was sure to be felt most deeply. It was still possible to carry out his instructions in the spirit if not in the letter. The object of the expedition was the mine, not the town. Common sense should have warned Keymis to pass the town

[1] Raleigh to Keymis. Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 125.

on the further side of the river, and to take up a defensive position near the mine.

Instead of this, he came to an anchor about a league below the town, and immediately proceeded to land his men. If he intended to attack the place—and he can hardly have taken these measures with any other purpose—he was singularly slack in his movements. At nightfall the three vessels weighed anchor, and steered towards San Thomè, whilst, at the same time, the land troops put themselves in motion in the same direction. Meanwhile the Spanish governor had taken his measures with skill. He had but forty-two men to dispose of, but he had in his favour their thorough knowledge of the locality, and the thickness of the woods through which the English had to force their way. It was about nine o'clock when the first shot was fired upon the vessels. Not long afterwards ten Spaniards sprang out from amongst the trees upon the advancing column.[1] The English

attacked and burnt.

[1] I have, not without some hesitation, taken my narrative thus far from Fray Simon (*Noticias Historiales*, 636). It is a story in minute detail, and is evidently founded upon the report of an eye-witness. Its most striking difference from Raleigh's account consists in this, that whilst the Spaniard represents the English as landing below the town, and deliberately marching to attack it, Raleigh describes them as landing between the mine and the town, and therefore above the town, merely for the purpose of taking a night's rest, and as being ignorant that the town was so near them as it was. In the first place, it must be remembered that Raleigh had every motive to falsify the narrative, so as to make it appear that his men were not the aggressors. In the second place, his story is improbable in itself. It is most unlikely that Keymis should not have discovered where the town was. We are, however, not left to probabilities, as there exists an independent account of the affair. In a letter written not long afterwards (*Discovery of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk), Captain Parker says: "At last we landed within a league of San Thomè, and about one of the clock at night we made the assault, where we lost Captain Raleigh and Captain Cosmor, but Captain Raleigh lost himself with his unadvised daringness, as you shall hear, for I will acquaint you how we were ordered. Captain Cosmor led the forlorn hope with some fifty men; after him I brought up the first division of shot; next brought up Captain Raleigh a division of pikes, who no sooner heard us charged, but indiscreetly came from his command to us," &c. The whole tenor of this presupposes that the English were formed for the attack when they

were taken by surprise, and, by their own confession, were almost driven into the river. Order, however, was soon restored. Numbers began to tell, and the Spaniards, repulsed at every point, were forced back towards the town. Young Walter Raleigh dashed into the thick of the fight, shouting, in words which were one day to be remembered against his father, "Come on, my men; this is the only mine you will ever find." The next minute he was struck down, and his followers were crying wildly over his corpse for vengeance. As the English pushed their way into the street, a galling fire was opened upon them from the houses on either side. At last, in sheer self-defence, they were driven to set fire to the buildings in which the enemy was sheltered. The wooden huts were soon in a blaze, and by one o'clock, the defenders of San Thomè were driven from their homes, to find what refuge they could in the surrounding woods.

Difficulties of the captors.

When the morning dawned the English discovered that they had not improved their position by their victory. In a thickly wooded country, the advantage is

were charged by the Spaniards. Of any surprise whilst resting on the river-bank the writer knows nothing. Nor is there any reference to any such surprise in Keymis's letter of January 8. Keymis says of young Raleigh, 'that had not his extraordinary valour and forwardness . . . led them all on, when some began to pause and recoil shamefully, this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with this surviving honour.' This is hardly the language of a man to whom 'this action' was a mere accident. In his letter to Carew, Raleigh himself says, "Upon the return I examined the sergeant-major and Keymis why they followed not my last directions for the trial of the mine before the taking of the town; and they answered me that although they durst hardly go to the mine, having a garrison of Spaniards between them and their boats, yet they said they followed those latter directions and did land between the town and the mine, and that the Spaniards, without any manner of parley, set upon them unawares and charged them, calling them *perros Ingleses*, and by skirmishing with them drew them on to the very entrance of the town, before they knew where they were." (*Edwards*, ii. 379.) Now, though Raleigh here states that the Spaniards attacked first, there is nothing really contradictory with Fray Simon's story. The charge against the Spaniards of having rushed upon the English when quietly resting on the bank was, no doubt, an afterthought. The English were preparing to attack, but the Spaniards actually struck the first blow.

always on the side of the defence, and it was that advantage which, by their attack upon San Thomè, they had recklessly thrown away. Instead of being able, according to Raleigh's instructions, to await in a well-chosen position the assault of the enemy, they were now compelled, if the mine was to be reached at all, to make their way through dense woods, in which every tree would afford a shelter to a Spanish marksman. Keymis did his best to execute his orders. At one time he tried to force a passage through the forest. At another time he placed his men in boats, and rowed up the stream to seek for a safer path. Everywhere he met with the same reception. Volleys of musketry, fired by men whom it was impossible to reach, told him, in unmistakable tones, that the great enterprise had failed.

The retreat from San Thomè.

For some days Keymis still lingered at San Thomè. It was hard to be the bearer of such tidings as his to the bereaved father, whose son was lying in his bloody grave. But the inevitable retreat could not much longer be delayed. His men were raving like madmen, and cursing him for having led them into such a snare. The mine, they told him, was a pure invention of his own. As he listened to their angry reproaches, he began, unconsciously perhaps, to look about for excuses by which he might shield himself from blame. A new light suddenly broke upon him. After all, what would be the use of reaching the mine? If the gold were found, it would only fall into the hands of the Spaniards. Even if he could preserve it from them, and could bring it safe to England, would it not be immediately confiscated by the King? He was told that the King had granted it to Raleigh under the great seal. His answer was that Raleigh was an attainted man, and that no grant to him was of any force.

Keymis's determination was probably hastened by some papers which he found at San Thomè, from which he learned that Spanish troops were on their way to the Orinoco. The survivors of the band which, less than three weeks before, had come up the river full of hope, hurried on board the vessels, with failure written on their foreheads. From that moment

nothing could stop them in their eager haste to regain the sea. It was in vain that Keymis, whose heart was sinking at the prospect of meeting the master whom he had ruined, pointed out a spot from whence, as he told them, the mine might yet be reached. It was equally in vain that a friendly Indian chief sent to invite them to another mine far from any Spanish settlement. They pushed on, heedless of such enticements, till they caught sight of the admiral's topmasts in the gulf of Paria.

Raleigh hears the news.

The news of the disaster did not come upon Raleigh at a single blow. First a stray Indian had brought a rumour of the capture of San Thomè.[1] Then had followed a letter from Keymis, with the bitter tidings of his son's death. At last the whole truth was before him. The great adventure was a total failure, and he must go back, if he went back at all, a discredited and ruined man.

Suicide of Keymis.

Before Raleigh could decide what to do, a new tragedy came to shatter afresh his already shaken nerves. When Keymis came on board to make his report, he had received him kindly, as an old comrade should. But it was not in the nature of things that he should be satisfied with the story which he had to tell. If Keymis had been content to plead the simple truth, to acknowledge his error in attacking the town, and to lay stress upon the impracticability of forcing a passage through the woods, it is possible that

[1] In the Declaration it is said that when Raleigh first heard the news, he proposed to sail away to the Caribbees, leaving his forces in the river to shift for themselves, and the inference drawn from it is, that he intended to attack the Spaniards. Just before his death, however, he declared (Second Testamentary Note ; *Edwards*, ii. 495), "I never had it in my thoughts to go to Trinidado and leave my companies to come after to the Salvage Islands, as hath by Fern been falsely reported." Looking, however to the extremely sharp practice of his denial of plots with the French in that very paper, I cannot attribute more weight to this statement than that it may very likely be literally true, and that perhaps he did have it in his mind to go to some other island, not Trinidad. But I have not inserted the charge in the text, as, even if it be accepted as generally correct, its value depends very much upon the circumstances under which it was spoken, and the plans which Raleigh may have formed at the same time for the relief of his crews in the river. Besides it would be hard to lay too much stress on words perhaps flung out in a moment of agony.

Raleigh would have allowed himself to be convinced. But when he said that, after young Raleigh's death, there was no reason why he should take the trouble to look any further for the mine, in order to enrich such a crew of rascals as he had around him; and that Raleigh being without a pardon, he would be none the better for the discovery of the gold, he was clearly talking nonsense. The man who had everything to lose by the failure saw at a glance that a basketful of ore, by which his sincerity might be proved, would have been worth everything to him. Knowing this as he did, he turned savagely upon Keymis. "It is for you," he said, "to satisfy the King, since you have chosen to take your own way: I cannot do it."

Keymis listened to the bitter words, and turned away sadly. A day or two afterwards he came back with a letter to Lord Arundel in his hand, which he entreated Raleigh to read. Raleigh refused to look at it. "You have undone me," he said, "by your obstinacy, and I will not favour or colour in any sort your former folly." Keymis asked if this was his final resolution. Raleigh answered that it was, and his downcast follower left the cabin, saying as he went, "I know not, then, what course to take."

The old sailor knew that he had lost his master's respect. How he had lost it was not so clear to him. Not long after he had gone, the report of a pistol was heard. Raleigh, asking what it meant, was told that Keymis had fired the shot to clean his arms. Half an hour afterwards, a boy going into his cabin found him lying dead, with a long knife driven into his heart. The pistol had inflicted but a slight wound; but the sturdy mariner, who had faced death in a thousand forms, could not bear to look again upon his commander's angry face.

Raleigh himself was well-nigh distracted. With nothing but blank despair before him, his first thought was to make a fresh attempt upon the mine. If Keymis had failed to reach it, he had at least discovered fresh evidence of its reality. Two ingots of gold had been brought from San Thomè, and papers had been found in which there was mention

Raleigh's schemes.

of mines existing in the neighbourhood. If Raleigh could do nothing else, he could lay his bones by the side of his son.[1]

From this desperate proposal his followers shrank. Their necks were in no danger at home, and they had no wish to expose themselves to almost certain destruction for the sake of a mine of the very existence of which they were by this time thoroughly incredulous. The Spanish war-ships would be upon them before long, and the sooner they left the mouth of the Orinoco the better. One more plan was submitted to them by Raleigh before he gave orders for weighing anchor. He had long before told them that if disaster should come it might be retrieved by an attack upon the Mexico fleet. The evil which he had foreboded was now before his eyes; and he asked his captains whether they would be ready to join him in the attempt. In his eyes such an undertaking was perfectly legitimate.[2] There was no peace beyond the line; and why should not the Spaniards pay for the injury which they had inflicted upon his men, who had been shot down like dogs in what he was pleased to call the English territory of Guiana? If Faige had been false to him, and if the four French ships upon which he had counted had failed him, might not something be done even with the forces which still remained? His captains do not seem to have rejected the idea positively at first. One who was present at the consultation asked, "What shall we be the better? For, when we come home, the King will have what we have gotten, and we shall be hanged." "We shall not need to fear that," was Raleigh's answer, "for I have a French commission, by which it is lawful to take any

[1] Raleigh to Winwood, March 21. Raleigh to Lady Raleigh, March 22, 1618. Raleigh's Apology. Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 106, 112, 129.

[2] The language in which Raleigh speaks of the French prize taken off Cape St. Vincent, is the best evidence of his real feeling on this point. His officers urged him to seize it because it was thought that the crew 'had robbed the Portugals and Spaniards.' "But," he says, "because it is lawful for the French to make prize of the Spanish King's subjects to the South of the Canaries, and to the West of the Azores, and that it did not belong to me to examine the subjects of the French King, I did not suffer my company to take from them any pennyworth of their goods.'

beyond the Canaries." "And I have another," said Sir John Fern, "and by that we may go and lie under Brest or Belleisle, and with one part thereof satisfy France, and with another procure our peace with England."[1]

[1] This conversation is taken from the report made by Sir T. Wilson (Sept. 21, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcix. 58). It may be said that Wilson was a spy, and therefore, is not to be believed. Those, however, who will take the trouble to go through Wilson's reports will, I think, be struck by the internal evidence of their credibility. The mere scraps of information that he is able to give are very meagre. Nor can he have had any object in inventing stories against Raleigh. It cannot be seriously maintained that he wished to deceive the King, who would soon find out the truth or falsehood of these reports. And even those who think that James himself deliberately brought false charges against Raleigh can hardly explain why he should have had them previously inserted in a series of private notes of which no public use was to be made. But it may be asked, how came Raleigh to tell a story so damaging to himself? No doubt, because it had already been brought in evidence against him. He repeated it in order to explain it away. "But," the note goes on to say, "I had no such commission, but spake it only to keep the fleet together—which else he found apt to part and sail on pirating."

The question next arises, how far this explanation is to be believed. With respect to the commission, his statement is literally true, and that is all that can be said for it. Montmorency's letter cannot strictly be called a commission. Yet, in a letter written by Raleigh four days later to the King, of which unfortunately only a Spanish translation has been preserved, he uses these very words: "Viendo que V. Mag^{d}. deseava mucho saver la verdad, y me mandava muy estrechamente que le escriviesse todo lo que era, agora por no tener yo á V. Mag^{d}. mas suspenso y dudoso de la verdad, viendome en conciencia muy obligado a dar contento á mi Rey y Principe natural, y no á otro alguno, esperando que, como yo he siempre desseado darle en esto satisfacion assí él tendrá compasion de mi dura y cruda condicion, y de mi vejez; yo diré la verdad á V. Mag^{d}. *Yo tuve una comision* de el Duque de Momorancy, Almirante de Francia para yr á la mar, la qual me dió un Frances llamado Faggio, que me dixo que el Embaxador de Francia M. de Maretz me favoresseria con sus cartas para el Duque de Momorancy para el dicho effecto." Raleigh to the King, Sept. 25, 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2597, fol. 62.

As to Raleigh's explanation of his proposal for attacking the fleet, no reliance can be placed on his mere word. The only external evidence I can find is in a petition by Pennington, written after his return. He says that he came back in great want, 'without offending any of his Majesty's laws, though much incited thereunto.' There remains the test of pro-

Upon this scene the curtain drops. We only know that the proposal came to nothing. When Raleigh is next heard of he was at St. Christopher's. Officers and crews were alike becoming unmanageable. "Whitney . . . for whom," he wrote to his wife, "I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at Granada, and Wollaston with him.[1] So as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home, and in my fly-boat a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me; but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the fleet hath taken the pains and care that I have done—that hath slept so little, and travailed so much." "These men," he had written the day before to Winwood, "will wrong me all they can. I beseech your honour that the scum of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest rascal in the ship. These being gone, I shall be able to keep the sea until the end of August, with some four reasonable good ships." What did he intend to do? We cannot tell. Probably he could not tell himself.

Raleigh at St. Christopher's.

bability; and, when it is remembered that Raleigh had been, to say the least of it, playing with the idea of attacking the fleet for several months, it seems hardly likely that he did not mean anything serious. Besides, if he could honestly have denied his intention of attacking the fleet, why did he not do so on the scaffold? He there certainly said everything which could be urged in his defence.

[1] Wollaston and Collins "coming lately to the fishing-place," in Newfoundland, "met there with a French man-of-war, who laying them aboard with intention to have taken them was taken by them, and brought into a harbour, where they put the Frenchmen ashore, and remained with the ship; and that they there understanding of a Flemish ship-of-war riding in a harbour not far off, which had offered some hard measure to the English, went and came to an anchor by her, and after some parley they fell to fighting, and in a short space the Fleming was taken. One Captain Whitney, who was also of Sir W. Raleigh's company, came now with this fleet to Malaga, loaden with fish from the New-found-land, and is gone with the rest to seek his market." Cottington to Lake, Oct. 29. *S. P. Spain.*

"My brains are broken," he wrote to his wife, "and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery."[1]

His return.

Raleigh is next heard of at Newfoundland. But if he still cherished hopes of retrieving his ill-success, he was not long in discovering that he must abandon them for ever. His crews refused to follow him, and he was forced to make sail for England. On the voyage home, the poor frightened men mutinied, and compelled him to swear that before he carried his ship into port he would obtain their pardon from the King. Raleigh himself hardly knew what to do. At one time he offered to make his ship over to his men, if they would put him on board a French vessel. In truth, it was but a choice of evils that was before him. As a penniless outcast, he had as little chance of a good reception in Paris as in London. At last, having first put into Kinsale harbour, he persuaded his men to suffer him to steer for Plymouth.[2]

Gondomar waits for news.

As Raleigh knew, it was no friendly tribunal that he would have to face. During the months which had passed so wearily with him, Gondomar had been watching for the news which, as he little doubted, would confirm his worst suspicions. He had listened eagerly to the tale of the deserter Bailey, and had urged his Government to lay an embargo upon the property of the English merchants at Seville, till redress was afforded for the alleged hostilities at the Canaries.[3] Then, to his great delight, came news from the Cayenne, telling of discontent amongst the crews, and of

[1] Raleigh to Winwood, March 21. Raleigh to Lady Raleigh, March 22, 1618, Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 106, 112.

[2] The statement made by Raleigh on the scaffold has been usually supposed to contradict that in the King's Declaration. To my mind, they mutually confirm one another. Raleigh does not contradict the story which was afterwards embodied in the Declaration, but only tells another story. Both were, no doubt, true. The same fear of punishment which made the crews anxious to sail for England, rather than engage in an unknown enterprise, would make them shrink from landing in England, without assurance of pardon.

[3] Minutes of Gondomar's despatches, Oct. $\frac{12}{22}$, and Nov. $\frac{5}{15}$, 1617, *Simancas MSS.* 2514, fol. 89.

the probabilities of failure.[1] Early in May,[2] two vessels arrived with the letters which had been written by Raleigh from St. Christopher's. On the 23rd,[3] Captain North told the King at full length the miserable story, and three or four weeks later the 'Destiny' itself cast anchor in Plymouth Sound.[4]

May.

Gondomar lost no time in hurrying to the King to demand satisfaction for the outrages committed at San Thomè. One of two things, he said, must be done. Either Raleigh must be punished in England, or he must be placed in his hands to be sent as a prisoner to Spain.[5]

Gondomar demands justice.

James, to all appearance, was ready to comply with his demands. On June 11, he issued a proclamation, inviting all persons who had any evidence to give against Raleigh to present themselves before the Council.[6] The Lord High Admiral gave instructions that the 'Destiny' should be seized, in the King's name, as soon as it

June.

James's offers to Spain.

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{April } 25,}{\text{May } 5,}$ 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2597, fol. 62.

[2] Contarini to the Doge, May $\frac{14,}{24,}$ 1618, *Venice MSS.*

[3] Camden's *Annals.*

[4] Contarini to the Doge, June $\frac{11,}{21,}$ *Venice MSS.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, June $\frac{11, \text{ June } 25,}{21, \text{ July } 5,}$ 1618.

[5] Contarini to the Doge, $\frac{\text{June } 25,}{\text{July } 5,}$ July $\frac{2,}{12,}$ *Venice MSS.* Caron to the States-General, July $\frac{15,}{25,}$ *Add. MSS.* 17,677, I; fol. 312. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{June } 25.}{\text{July } 5.}$ Not one of these writers says anything of Howel's story of "Piratas, Piratas, Piratas." In most of the editions of his letters, the letter in which this anecdote is given is dated about two months before Raleigh's return. Even if we go back to the first edition, which gives no dates, it is, to say the least of it, strange that two letters should be written just as Howel was starting for the Continent, and that of these, one should give the story of Raleigh's return, which took place in 1618, and the other should give the story of the execution of the accomplices in Overbury's murder, which took place in 1615. The story is in contradiction with all that I know of Gondomar's character. Howel, probably, found it floating about, and placed it in his letters when he was dressing them up in order to sell them.

[6] Proclamation, June 11, *Rymer*, xvii. 92.

made its appearance in English waters.[1] Whether James had acted prudently or not in allowing Raleigh to sail, he had, at all events, taken seriously his assurance that he would do no injury to Spain. Before the fleet left England, James had given Gondomar 'his faith, his hand, and his word,' that if Raleigh returned loaded with gold acquired by an attack on the subjects of the King of Spain, he would surrender it all, and would give up 'the authors of the crime to be hanged in the public square of Madrid.' He now assured the ambassador that he would be as good as his word. "Not all those," he said, "who have given security for Raleigh can save him from the gallows."

At one moment, however, it seemed as if James wished to make excuses for Raleigh. San Thomè, he said, was not inhabited by the Spaniards when he granted Raleigh his commission. Gondomar refused to allow the argument to pass, and brought James to allow that Raleigh had acted as a robber.[2]

On June 19, Gondomar made his complaint to the Council. After hearing what he had to say, Bacon replied, in the name of his colleagues, that the excesses of private persons could not be hindered by any king, however just, but that the King of England would give every satisfaction in his power. On June 21, the Council met at Greenwich, in James's presence. James spoke at length of Raleigh's crime, and declared that it was for his own reputation and that of the whole kingdom that an example should be made of his justice. No one present ventured to plead directly for Raleigh. Some one of the councillors, however, attempted to excite James against Gondomar. The Spanish Ambassador, it was said, had spoken presumptuously to the Council, and had even compromised the King by alleging that he had offered to send Raleigh to be hanged at Madrid, as if England were a mere tributary of Spain. James seemed for a moment to be shaken. "Though

June 19. Gondomar before the Council.

June 21. The Council at Greenwich.

[1] Stukely's Apology, *Raleigh's Works*, viii. 783.

[2] Gondomar to Philip III., June $\frac{14}{24}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

I am a peaceful man," he said, "I know well how to defend my honour." Buckingham at once struck in. Gondomar, he said, was in the right. He had protested against the expedition before it sailed, and there was nothing strange in the language which he now used. The Council ought to judge of him without passion, remembering what they would wish to be the behaviour of an English ambassador in the like case. James, thus encouraged, spoke out. He asked the councillors whether they would consider it right to go to war with Spain in defence of Raleigh's mischievous proceedings? Was it not really just to punish those 'traitors who, under pretence of gold mines, and of treasures to be brought home, and upon other pretexts equally false, had brought him to give his consent to the expedition?' What he now wished to know was whether they advised him to punish Raleigh or not? Raleigh's friends were apparently cowed by the threat to call them in question as well as the actual offender, and the answer of Yes! Yes! came promptly from every side.

On the following day Gondomar had another interview with the King. James told him that he had been for two hours examining witnesses who had been inclined to lay the blame on Keymis, but that he had told them that Raleigh was responsible for all that had been done, as Keymis had acted under his orders. On this Gondomar, who was about almost immediately to leave England, and who, perhaps, thought that he could not expect James to resist, in his absence, the pressure which would be brought to bear upon him, ventured to reply that James could not act as judge in this affair. He had himself given Raleigh his commission, and those who had persuaded him to grant it were still by his side to persuade him to maintain it. Gondomar added, that if he had been governor of Seville or of the Canaries he would have exacted reparation with his own hands. As it was, all that he could say was 'that Raleigh and his followers were in England, and had not been hanged, and that the councillors who had advised the King to consent to the expedition were still at large.'

June 22. Gondomar's interview with James.

Experience had taught Gondomar that he might say almost

anything to James, but it seemed now as if he had gone too far. James flew into a passion. Dashing his hat upon the ground, and clutching his hair with his hands, he told Gondomar that this might be justice in Spain, but that it was not so in England, where he reigned. He was not accustomed, nor, unless God forsook him, would he ever be accustomed, to condemn anyone before he heard him, or before he was legally tried, even if the accused person had murdered the Prince of Wales. Gondomar replied, sneeringly, that he was right in saying that what was justice in Spain was not justice in England. If a Spaniard had done to Englishmen what Raleigh had notoriously done to Spaniards, the King of Spain would at once have given orders for his execution. He then cleverly turned the current of James's thoughts for a moment by showing him an account of Raleigh's crimes. James acknowledged that they were atrocious, and that punishment should be speedy. He would trust Raleigh's case 'to noble gentlemen, and not to the judges.' Seeing that James had cooled down, Gondomar returned to the charge. This, he said, was not enough. Would not James send Raleigh to Spain, with ten or twelve of his comrades? James now gave way and promised to propose this method of proceeding to the Council.

James offers to give up Raleigh to Spain.

On the 4th the Council met to consider this strange proposition. According to Gondomar many Puritans attended the meeting, but it is likely enough that many, not ordinarily classed as Puritans, would object to the surrender of an Englishman to Spanish vengeance. At all events, a strong opposition to the proposal was manifested. Buckingham, however, spoke warmly in its support, and James broke up the meeting by saying 'that he was King, and would keep his promise, without following the advice of fools and of designing persons.'

June 24.

The next day James once more saw Gondomar, and engaged that Raleigh should be surrendered, unless Philip expressly asked that he should be hanged in England. On the 26th Buckingham, by James's orders, wrote Gondomar a letter assuring him that, in one way or the other, justice should be

July 25. James assures Gondomar that he will give up Raleigh.

done.[1] It was with small hope of success that Raleigh's friends at Court now endeavoured to stem the tide. Carew was especially urgent in his behalf. "I may as well hang him," was the King's reply, "as deliver him to the King of Spain; and one of these two I must do, if the case be as Gondomar has represented it." Carew pressed for a more favourable answer. "Why," said James, "the most thou canst expect is that I should give him a hearing."[2]

July 15. Gondomar's departure.

As far as James could carry his wishes into effect, Gondomar's departure from London on July 15 was a kind of triumphal procession. It had often been the practice to gratify the ambassadors of Roman Catholic states, by allowing them to carry with them a few priests, who were liberated from prison on condition that they would engage not to return to England. In honour of Gondomar, every priest in prison was set at liberty at once; and as he rode down to Dover, he was followed by at least a hundred, of whom the greater number had probably already made up their minds to make their way back to England as soon as possible.

The attack upon the Spanish Embassy.

But if Gondomar was in high favour with the King, he was not in high favour with the English people. A day or two before he left London, one of his suite, riding carelessly down Chancery Lane, rode over a little boy. The child was more frightened than hurt; but to the angry crowd which gathered in an instant, it was enough that the mischance was attributable to a Spaniard. In a few minutes four or five thousand infuriated Englishmen were rushing along the streets with a fixed determination to tear the unlucky foreigner from his refuge at the Spanish Embassy in the Barbican. Gondomar himself was away, supping with the Earl of Worcester; but his frightened attendants were trembling at the execrations of the mob without, and were waiting amidst crashing windows and splintering doors, for the moment when they might be hurried off to instant death.

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., July $\frac{5}{15}$, *Madrid Palace Library*. Buckingham to Gondomar, June 26, *S. P. Spain*.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering, June 30, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 410.

Fortunately, when the confusion was at the highest, Chief Justice Montague, accompanied by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, appeared upon the scene. In a moment, the howling crowd was silent, and the work of destruction was arrested. Upon an assurance from Montague that the offender should be put to a legal trial for what he had done, the rioters opened their ranks, that the culprit might be led away unharmed to prison, and then quietly dispersed to their homes. As soon as the disturbance was at an end, the Chief Justice, regardless of his promise, ordered that the Spaniard should be peacefully restored to the Embassy.

The King's excuses.

The next morning James sent Buckingham to Gondomar to express his regret at the untoward occurrence. In the lofty tone which had always served him so well, the ambassador replied that he was personally ready to forgive the offence, but that he could not tell how his master would receive the news.

Punishment of the offenders.

James had already made the riot an affair of state. The Lord Mayor was ordered to ask Gondomar's pardon, and was told that if he did not punish the offenders himself, the King would come in person into the City to see that justice was done. Gondomar now declared himself satisfied, and, before he left England, sent a message to the King, begging him not to deal harshly with the rioters.[1] Three weeks afterwards, James, finding that even the magistrates were inclined to sympathize with the offenders, issued a special commission for the trial of the culprits,[2] seven of whom were sentenced to an imprisonment of six months and a fine of 500*l.* a-piece.[3] Within a month after the passing of the sentence, however, it was remitted, at the instance of Gondomar's secretary, Sanchez, who had remained in England as agent for his Government, till a new ambassador should be

[1] Lorkin to Puckering, July 14, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 414. Contarini to the Doge, $\frac{\text{July } 23}{\text{Aug. } 2}$, *Venice MSS.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{July } 26}{\text{Aug. } 5}$, 1618.

[2] Bacon to Cæsar, Aug. 6, 1618, *Letters and Life*, vi. 323.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Aug. 13, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcviii. 17.

appointed.[1] On another point Sanchez was able to give satisfactory assurances to his master. The pursuivants, by whom the Catholics were so harshly treated, were ordered to forbear from molesting them, unless authorised by a warrant signed by at least six privy councillors. The King, too, had promised that Lord Sheffield, who, without his knowledge, had sent a priest to execution, should be deprived of his office;[2] a promise which was carried out before many months were over.

Unfortunately for Raleigh, the knowledge that the London mob, which had nearly torn him to pieces fifteen years before, would be sure to treat him with greater respect now, was not likely to be of much service to him. Soon after his arrival at Plymouth he set out for London; but he had not proceeded farther than Ashburton when he met Sir Lewis Stukely, a cousin of his own, who was Vice-Admiral of Devon, and who was charged with orders to arrest him. Stukely took him back to Plymouth, and having nothing but verbal directions from the King, waited for a formal commission to bring him up to London as a prisoner. During the interval, Raleigh, either being ill in reality, or hoping to gain time by counterfeiting sickness, took to his bed. Under these circumstances, Stukely left him very much to himself, and omitted to take the usual precautions for the safe custody of the prisoner.[3]

June. Raleigh's arrest.

With the opportunity, the thought of escape presented itself

[1] Contarini to the Doge, Sept. $\frac{18}{28}$, *Venice MSS.* Sept. 10, 1618. *S. P. Dom.* clxxxvii. 59.

[2] Sanchez to Philip III., July $\frac{20}{30}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 81.

[3] It is sometimes supposed that Stukely intended to give him a chance of escape, meaning to stop him, in order that he might have an additional charge to bring against him. If so, Stukely must have been a great bungler, as he made no preparations for preventing Raleigh from getting clear off. Nor were the reasons which afterwards induced the King to favour a trick of this kind as yet in existence. Caron's account of the matter, in all probability, gives the true explanation. Raleigh was sick, or pretended to be so. This would quite account for Stukely's neglect of him. See Caron to the States-General, $\frac{\text{July } 28}{\text{Aug. } 7}$, *Add. MSS.* 17,677, I; fol. 318. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, July $\frac{2}{12}$, 1618.

once more to Raleigh. He had lost all hope of regaining the favour of James. He commissioned Captain King, the only one of his officers who had remained faithful to the last, to make arrangements with the master of a French vessel lying in the Sound, to assist him in his flight. At nightfall the two slipped out of the house together, and got into a boat. They had not rowed far before Raleigh changed his mind, and ordered King to return. He could not tell what to do. Next day he sent money to the Frenchman, and begged him to wait for another night. Night came, but Raleigh did not stir.

July. He attempts to escape.

His irresolution was soon brought to an end. Stukely received peremptory orders to take his prisoner to London.[1] As Raleigh passed through Sherborne he pointed out the lands

[1] "You have under your charge the person of Sir W. Raleigh, Knt., touching whom and his safe bringing hither before us of his Majesty's Privy Council, you have received many directions, signifying his Majesty's pleasure and commandment. Notwithstanding, we find no execution thereof as had becomed you, but vain excuses, unworthy to be offered to his Majesty, or to those of his Council, from whom you received his pleasure." *Council Register*, July 25, 1618. Mr. Edwards (*Life*, i. 654) complains of Bacon as having deliberately inserted a falsehood into the King's Declaration, by saying "that this first escape to France was made before Stukely's arrival at Plymouth." I do not find, however, that Bacon said anything like this. The words are, "For about this time Sir W. Raleigh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plymouth, where it was easy to discern with what good will he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for soon after his coming to Plymouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French bark," &c. Bacon, therefore, does not say that the escape was made before Stukely's arrival, but before Raleigh was under guard, and though a microscopic objector might say that Raleigh was in some sort under guard from Stukely's first arrival, yet he was practically left to do pretty much as he liked till the arrival of the order from the Privy Council. The exact date of the attempt must have seemed of little moment to Bacon, if, as I believe, he was arguing against some rumour that the attempt to escape *from London* was a mere trick of Stukely's. "Wherein, by the way," he says of this Plymouth escape, "it appears that it was not a train laid for him by Sir L. Stukely, or any other, to move or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to fly and escape from his first arrival in England;" and this, as far as I can see, is strictly true.

which had once been his, and told the bystanders how they had been wrongfully taken from him. His fears again took possession of him. At Salisbury he sank so low as to feign illness, in order to gain a little time upon the road. A French quack, named Mannourie, who was employed by Stukely to attend upon him, gave him ointment to produce sores wherever it was applied. He was too ill, he said, to travel. It happened that the Court was in the town in the course of the progress, and Digby, as soon as he heard of Raleigh's condition, obtained for him permission to retire for a few days to his own house, as soon as he was able to reach London. This was exactly what Raleigh wanted. He fancied that escape would now be easy. His first thought was to bribe Stukely to aid him. Upon Stukely's refusal, he begged King to hurry on to London, and to hire a vessel to wait at Gravesend till he was able to go on board.

August. He is carried up to London.

His renewed attempts to escape.

The master of the vessel took King's orders, and immediately gave information of what he knew. The story was told to Sir William St. John, a captain of one of the King's ships. St. John decided upon riding down to Salisbury to tell James. Before he reached Bagshot, he met Stukely coming up with his prisoner, and acquainted him with his discovery. Stukely told him, in return, of Raleigh's dealings with himself and Mannourie, and charged him to lay the whole matter before the King.[1]

Betrayed to the King.

The next day, Stukely had fresh news to write to Court. La Chesnée, the interpreter of the French Embassy, who had had dealings with Raleigh before he sailed, had visited him at Brentford. He had brought a message from Le Clerc, who since Desmarets' departure had been residing in England as agent for the King of France, offering him a passage on board a French vessel, together with letters of introduction, which would secure him an honourable reception in Paris. Raleigh had thanked him for his kindness, but had told him that he had already provided for his escape.

His interview with La Chesnée.

[1] St. John's Declaration, Aug. 17, *Harl. MSS.* 6854, fol. 1.

All this Stukely, who seems to have thought it no shame to act as the spy upon a man who had asked him to betray his trust, communicated to the King. James at once took alarm. A plot with France was a serious matter. He accordingly directed Stukely to counterfeit friendship with Raleigh, to aid his attempt to escape, and only to arrest him at the last moment. By this course, it would seem, he hoped to wheedle Raleigh out of his secret, and perhaps to get possession of papers which would afford evidence of his designs.[1] Raleigh was, therefore, conducted, upon his arrival in London, to his own house in Bread Street. Here he received a visit from Le Clerc, who repeated his former offers. The next morning he got into a boat, accompanied by Stukely and King. As had been pre-arranged, he was arrested at Woolwich, and was at once lodged in the Tower.[2]

Failure of his attempt to escape.

From the moment that the Tower-gates closed upon him, Raleigh can have had but little hope. He must have known well that his case would not bear the light. He had already done his best to plead his cause before the King. The Apology which he drew up during those miserable days in which he had counterfeited illness at Salisbury was indeed, if it be simply considered as a literary effort, a masterly production. In language which still rings like a clarion, Raleigh hurled his last defiance in the face of Spain. He vindicated the rights of the English Crown to Guiana, and asserted that, had he taken possession of the mine on the Orinoco in spite of all the forces of Spain, he would merely have been doing his duty as a faithful servant of the King of England. His old conviction of the righteousness of

Raleigh's Apology.

[1] "But why did you not execute your commission barely to his apprehension on him in his house? Why, my commission was to the contrary, to discover his other pretensions, and to seize his secret papers." Stukely's *Petition*, 7. I incline to think this to be the true account. Those who think Raleigh was helped to escape, in order that an additional excuse might be found to hang him, are of course those who resolutely ignore the fact that there was any real ground for proceeding against him already.

[2] Oldys' *Life of Raleigh*, in *Raleigh's Works*, i. 519. Stukely's Apology in *Raleigh's Works*, viii. 783. *The King's Declaration. Stukely's Petition, Council Register*, Sept. 27. Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 351.

his lifelong struggle with Spain glowed in every line; a conviction so strong that he still fancied that it would move even James to approve of his actions in Guiana.

As an appeal to posterity, the Apology has had all, and more than all, the success which it deserved. To James it must have appeared tantamount to a confession of guilt. Utterly unable to deny that, after sailing under an express promise not to meddle with the subjects of the King of Spain, he had sent his men up the Orinoco without any instructions which might lead them to suppose that he thought the fulfilment of his promise worth a moment's consideration, Raleigh now turned round upon the King, and represented his own dereliction of duty as a high and noble deed. He had been content to found his enterprise upon a lie, and his sin had found him out. To all who knew what the facts were, he stamped himself by his Apology as a liar convicted by his own admission.

Could James condemn him?

Yet, how could James exact from Raleigh the penalty of his fault? To impartial persons, it is clear that the King's own misconduct had its full share in bringing about the catastrophe. It was James, who, in order to throw the whole responsibility upon Raleigh, had required from him a promise which, as the slightest consideration would have told him, it was hardly possible for him to keep. He had thought to save himself trouble, and now it was come back upon him with tenfold weight. Out of the difficulty which he had brought upon himself, there was no way by which he could escape with credit. If he pardoned Raleigh, he must not only break off his friendship with Spain, but he must announce to the world that he was himself regardless of his plighted word, and that he was as careless of the rights of other sovereigns as he was tenacious of his own. If he sent Raleigh to the scaffold, he was condemning himself for the part which he had taken, in spite of the warning of Gondomar, in promoting an enterprise which he now bitterly repented.

Such considerations, however, were far enough from the mind of James. Commissioners were appointed—Bacon, Abbot, Worcester, Cæsar, Coke, and Naunton—to examine the

charges against the prisoner. That they performed their duties conscientiously there is no reason to doubt. The names are by no means such as to indicate a packed tribunal. Yet, in one important point, they certainly came to a wrong conclusion. Instead of contenting themselves with supposing, as was really the case, that Raleigh was careless whether he broke his promise or not, if he could only reach the mine, and that he was equally indifferent to the means by which he might indemnify himself, if the mine should prove a failure, they adopted the theory that he never intended to go to the mine at all, and that he had sailed with the purpose of at once engaging in a piratical attack upon the colonies and fleets of Spain. No doubt they knew as well as we do, that the evidence required careful sifting before it could be admitted as conclusive. Those who gave it were, for the most part, angry and disappointed men ; and Raleigh was at all times a free speaker, whose words could seldom be regarded as an infallible key to his settled purposes. But, in an inquiry for truth, they got no assistance from Raleigh. Whatever else might be true, it was plain that his story at least was false. And as, one by one, admissions were wrung from him which were utterly fatal to his honesty of purpose; as the Commissioners heard one day of his proposal to seize the Mexico fleet, and another day of his underhand dealings with Montmorency, it is hardly to be wondered at that, exasperated by the audacity of his lying, they came to the conclusion that there was not a single word of truth in his assertions, and that his belief in the very existence of the mine was a mere fiction, invented for the purpose of imposing upon his too credulous Sovereign.

A commission appointed to examine Raleigh.

Raleigh before the Commissioners.

On August 17, a week after his committal to the Tower, Raleigh was brought before the Commissioners for examination, and the investigation thus opened was carried on diligently during the following weeks.[1]

Of these examinations but little has reached us, and it is therefore impossible to say what answers Raleigh made to the

[1] Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 356.

charges brought against him. On one point we know that the examiners were most anxious for information. The plot with France, of which they had come upon the traces, assumed gigantic proportions in their eyes. La Chesnée was summoned before the Council, and was examined on his visit to Raleigh at Brentford. To the astonishment of his questioners, he replied by a blank denial that he had ever spoken a word to Raleigh on the subject of his escape. Enraged at his mendacity, the Council ordered him into custody.[1] In its anxiety for information, the Government now decided upon setting a spy over Raleigh, who might gain his confidence, and win from him an acknowledgment of the true character of his dealings with the French.

Inquiry into the French plot.

The person selected for this miserable office was Sir Thomas Wilson,[2] the keeper of the State Papers, an old spy of Queen Elizabeth's. He felt no repugnance to the occupation, and as soon as he was installed in the Tower, began to ply the prisoner with questions, and to hint to him that by a full confession it might yet be possible to regain the favour of the King. For more than a fortnight Raleigh remained upon his guard. He would admit nothing. When he was pressed to acknowledge that he had spoken words which he was unable to deny, he took refuge in the assertion that it was indeed true that he had used the words, but that he had meant nothing by them. It was thus that he explained away the fact that he had communicated to Stukely La Chesnée's offer of a passage on board a French vessel. It was true, he said, that he had told Stukely so ; but he had not spoken the truth. It had been convenient for him at the time to persuade Stukely that a French vessel was waiting for him in the Thames, and he had invented the falsehood on the spot.[3] About a week later, Raleigh told Wilson the story of his proposal to his captains to seize the Mexico fleet, which was

Wilson set as a spy on Raleigh.

[1] Declaration of the Council, Sept. 27, *Council Register*. Chesnée's examinations are at Simancas ; but a translation has been printed in St. John's *Life of Raleigh*, i. 303, 313, 323.

[2] The Commissioners to Wilson, Sept. 10, *S. P. Dom.* xcix. 7.

[3] Wilson's Notes, Sept. 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, *S. P. Dom.* xcix. 9, i.

already known by other means to the Government. But it was only to accompany it with the explanation that, although he had laid the scheme before his companions, he had done so merely in the hope of keeping his fleet together, without any intention of carrying it into execution.

Thus did the wretched game of falsehood on both sides drag on, till at last, on September 25, Raleigh, weary of the struggle, wrote to the King, acknowledging that he had sailed with a commission from the Admiral of France, and that La Chesnée had, by Le Clerc's directions, offered to assist him to escape.[1] Upon this La Chesnée was again summoned before the Council, and was no longer able to persist in his transparent falsehoods. Le Clerc was then sent for. He boldly denied having had any dealings with Raleigh whatever. He was told that he would no longer be treated as the minister of the King of France; and, soon afterwards, finding that his presence was useless in England, he left the kingdom.[2]

September. Raleigh acknowledges his dealings with the French.

It would seem that several circumstances relating to Raleigh's intrigues with the French were brought to the knowledge of the Commissioners; for we find him doing his best in his conversations with Wilson to explain away his intercourse with Faige, his having taken into consideration the plan for the surprise of St. Valery, and his listening to the proposal made to him before he left the Tower for seizing the Mexico fleet with the aid of six or seven Rochellese ships.[3]

October.

Raleigh made one last effort to escape, by throwing the blame on his supporters. If he had formed a plot for the seizure of the fleet during his last voyage, it was done, he said, at the instigation of Winwood, Pembroke, Edmondes, and others.[4] Winwood's mis-

He charges Winwood and others with complicity.

[1] Raleigh to the King, Sept. 25, *Simancas MSS.* 2597, fol. 62. The letter is quoted in a statement in the *Council Register*, Sept. 27, and a translation will be found in St. John's *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 331.

[2] Statements of the proceedings with Le Clerc, Sept. 27, 1618, *Council Register; Finetti Philoxenis.*

[3] Wilson to the King, Oct. 4, *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 16.

[4] Sanchez to Philip III., Sept. $\frac{14}{24}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 98.

deeds at least were already known, and these disclosures were received with indifference. Raleigh no longer doubted that he must prepare to die. His friends at Court had pleaded his cause in vain. Even the Queen, forgetful, since her quarrel with Somerset, of her old friendship with Spain, had, without success, urged Buckingham to interfere in his favour.[1]

The King of Spain wishes Raleigh to be executed in England.

If Raleigh's execution was still delayed, it was because there were legal difficulties in the way. An answer having by this time been received from Philip, declining to accept James's offer to hand over Raleigh for execution in Spain,[2] it was necessary to consider how he was to be punished in England. James had fallen back on his original contention, that Raleigh could not be executed without a trial of some sort, but he was informed that as the prisoner was already under sentence of death, his existence for legal purposes was at an end, and that no Court now could legally try him.

Oct. 18. The report of the Commissioners.

James therefore applied to the Commissioners to know what course it would be best for him to take. Their reply began by repeating that Raleigh could not be tried for any offence which he had committed as an attainted man. It was, therefore, necessary, if he was to be executed at all, that he should be executed upon his former sentence. It would not be illegal to send him to the scaffold upon a simple warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower. But if this were done, it would be well that a narrative should be published, setting forth the offences for which he was in reality to die. The Commissioners evidently felt that if, as a matter of legal formality, Raleigh was to be put to death for his alleged intrigue with Spain in 1603, it should at all events be made plain that this was nothing more than a legal formality. But there can be little doubt that, in their hearts, they preferred the alternative which they next suggested, namely, that, as far as the law would permit, Raleigh should have the

They propose an informal trial before the Council.

[1] The Queen to Buckingham, Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 164.

[2] Aug. 26, Sept. 5, *Madrid Palace Library.*

advantage of a public trial. He was to be called before the Council, which was on this occasion to be reinforced by the addition of some of the Judges. The doors were to be thrown open to certain noblemen and gentlemen who were to be summoned as witnesses of the proceedings. After the necessity of this unusual form of trial had been explained, the lawyers were to open the case, and the examinations were to be read, just as would have been done in Westminster Hall. Raleigh was to be heard in his own defence ; and that there might be no repetition of the unfair treatment which he had received at Winchester, the witnesses against him were to be produced in open court. Although no sentence could be formally recorded, the Councillors and the Judges were to give their opinions whether there was sufficient ground to authorise the King in putting the law in force against the prisoner.[1]

The recommendation of the Commissioners shows that they at least, after full examination of the evidence, were sufficiently convinced of the strength of the case against Raleigh to be willing to expose it to his attack in the full light of day.[2] James was more easily frightened. He could not indeed bear to send Raleigh to the scaffold without hearing him in his own defence. But neither was he willing to allow him to plead his cause before an interested, and probably a sympathetic, audience. He remembered how, in his trial at Winchester he had, 'by his wit, turned the hatred of men into compassion of him.'[3] No wonder that James was alarmed. How could he bear that Raleigh should be permitted to denounce with withering scorn that alliance with Spain which was so dear to his heart. Such words were sure to find a response in the hearts of the spectators ; perhaps even in the hearts of his judges. There might be division in the Council ; Pembroke, Arundel, and Carew might be found unwilling to condemn the man whom they had favoured.

James rejects their proposal.

[1] The Commissioners to the King, Oct. 18, Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 361.

[2] This was pointed out by Mr. Spedding, *ibid.* vi. 362.

[3] The King to the Commissioners, *ibid.* vi. 363.

James forgot that the real danger did not so much lie in what Raleigh might say, as in the temper of those who were likely to accept Raleigh's defiance of Spain as all to which it was needful to listen.[1] Because James had given way too much to Spain when she was in the wrong, he could not venture openly to plead the cause of Spain when she was in the right. He would therefore refuse Raleigh a public trial. He did not see that the danger into which he was running was greater than that which he avoided—that a people excited against Spain by his attempt to draw the two countries into close alliance by the bonds of marriage, would be certain to cherish the conviction that Raleigh had been condemned in secret, merely because his enemies did not dare to condemn him openly.

Oct. 22. Raleigh before the Commissioners.

On October 22, therefore, Raleigh, in place of being brought before even the whole of the Privy Council, was brought once more before the limited body of Commissioners. Of what he said to the charges against him the notes which have come down to us are too brief to enable us to judge fully. He persisted in his assertion that he really purposed to attempt the mine, and he denied having intended to bring about war between England and Spain. We also learn that 'being confronted with captains St. Leger and Pennington,' he 'confessed that he proposed the taking of the Mexico fleet if the mine failed.' Here the condensed record breaks off, and we are left to imagine what was further said on either side. It would seem that Bacon, in the name of the Commissioners, informed Raleigh that he was to die, after pronouncing him to be guilty of abusing the confidence of his own sovereign and of injuring the subjects of the King of Spain.[2]

[1] According to a news-letter of Feb. $\frac{4}{14}$ 1618, there had been meetings in the counties of the leading Puritans, as they are styled, to consider whether, if Parliament were called, it would not be well to offer the King the then unheard-of sum of ten subsidies to break off the marriage.—*Roman Transcripts, R. O.*

[2] Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 265. Mr. Spedding has pointed out that in these notes, as printed by me for the *Camden Miscellany*, vol. v., a date

Accordingly a privy seal was directed to the Justices of the King's Bench, commanding them to award execution upon the old sentence. James seems to have expected that it would be unnecessary for Raleigh to appear in Court. The Judges, however, declared that it was impossible for them to act unless the prisoner was produced, as he must have an opportunity of giving a reason, if he could find one to give, why execution should not be awarded.[1] On October 28, therefore, Raleigh, weak and suffering as he was from an attack of ague, was brought to the bar. Yelverton, in a few brief sentences, demanded the execution of the Winchester judgment. Raleigh, when called upon to say what he could for himself, advanced the argument that the Winchester judgment was virtually discharged by the commission which had entrusted him with the power of life and death over others. He then began to speak of his late voyage. But he was immediately interrupted by the Chief Justice, who told him that he was not called in question for his voyage, but for the treason which he had committed in 1603. Unless he could produce an express pardon from the King, no argument that he could use would be admissible. Raleigh answered that, if that were the case, he had nothing to do but to throw himself upon the King's mercy. He believed that most of those who were present knew what the Winchester verdict was really worth; and he was sure that the King knew it too. As soon as he had concluded, Montague awarded execution according to law.[2]

Proceedings in the King's Bench.

James had no intention of granting any further respite. It was in vain that Raleigh begged for a few days to complete some writings which he had on hand; he was told that he must prepare for execution on the following morning. As he was to suffer in Palace Yard, he was taken to the Gatehouse at Westminster to pass the night. With the certainty of death he regained the composure to which

Raleigh prepares to die.

of Aug. 17, which the note-taker, Sir J. Cæsar, had carefully erased, was inadvertently left standing.

[1] *Hutton's Rep.* 21. [2] Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 161.

he had long been a stranger. In the evening, Lady Raleigh came to take her farewell of her husband. Thinking that he might like to know that the last rites would be paid to his remains, she told him that she had obtained permission to dispose of his body. He smiled, and answered, "It is well, Bess, that thou mayest dispose of that dead which thou hadst not always the disposing of when it was alive."[1] At midnight she left him, and he lay down to sleep for three or four hours. When he woke he had a long conference with Dr. Townson, the Dean of Westminster, who was surprised at the fearlessness which he exhibited at the prospect of death, and begged him to consider whether it did not proceed from carelessness or vain-glory. Raleigh did his best to disabuse him of this idea, and told him that he was sure that no man who knew and feared God could die with fearlessness and courage, except he were certain of God's love and favour to him. Reassured by these words, Townson proceeded to administer the Communion to him ; after he had received it, he appeared cheerful, and even merry. He spoke of his expectation that he would be able to persuade the world of his innocence. The good Dean was troubled with talk of this kind, and begged him not to speak against the justice of the realm. Raleigh acknowledged that he had been condemned according to the law, but said that, for all that, he must persist in asserting his innocence.

His last night in the Gatehouse.

Oct. 29.

As the hour for his execution approached, Raleigh took his breakfast, and smoked his tobacco as usual. His spirits were excited by the prospect of the scene which was before him. Being asked how he liked the wine which was brought to him, he said that 'it was good drink, if a man might tarry by it.' At eight the officers came to fetch him away. As he passed to the scaffold he noticed that one of his friends, who had come to be near him at the last, was unable to push through the throng. "I know not," he said, "what shift you will make, but I am sure to have a place." A minute after, catching sight of an old man

He is conducted to the scaffold.

[1] Townson to Isham, Nov. 9, 1618. Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 176.

with a bald head, he asked him whether he wanted anything. "Nothing," replied the man, "but to see you, and to pray God to have mercy on your soul." "I thank thee, good friend," answered Raleigh, "I am sorry I have no better thing to return thee for thy good will; but take this nightcap, for thou hast more need of it now than I."[1]

As soon as Raleigh mounted the scaffold, he asked leave to address the people. His speech had been carefully prepared. Every word he spoke, was, as far as we can judge, literally true; but it was not the whole truth, and it was calculated in many points to produce a false impression on his hearers.[2] On the commission which he had received from the French admiral he was altogether silent, but he was emphatic in repudiating the notion that he had ever received a commission from the French King. He then said that Mannourie had charged him falsely with uttering disloyal speeches, and he protested warmly against the accusations which had been brought against him by Stukely. He spoke of the efforts which it had cost him to induce his men to return

His last speech.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 31. *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 58. Lorkin to Puckering, Nov. 3. *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 420.

[2] The part which relates to the French commission is a marvel of ingenuity. Not a word of it is untrue, but the general impression is completely false. In the MS. copy in the Record Office, it runs thus:—

"I do, therefore, call that great God to witness, before whom I am now presently to appear to render an account of what I say, that as I hope to see God, to live in the world to come, or to have any benefit or comfort by the Passion of my Saviour, that I did never entertain any conspiracy, nor ever had any plot or intelligence with the French King, nor ever had any advice or practice with the French agent, neither did I ever see the French King's hand or seal, as some have reported I had a commission from him at sea. Neither, as I have a soul to be saved, did I know of the French agent's coming till I saw him in my gallery, and if ever I knew of his coming or deny the truth, O Lord, I renounce thy mercy!" *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 53. The copy in Oldys' *Life* (*Works*, i. 558) is to the same effect. In the copy printed in the *Works*, viii. 775, Raleigh is made to say "I never had any practice with the French King, or his ambassador, or agent, neither had I any intelligence from thence." The last sentence would mean 'intelligence from France,' which would be false. We may fairly give Raleigh the benefit of the doubt between the different reports.

to England, and denied having wished to desert his comrades whilst he was lying at the mouth of the Orinoco, waiting for tidings of San Thomè.[1] He then adverted to a foolish tale which had long been current against him, to the effect that at the execution of the Earl of Essex, he had taken his place at a window in order to see him die, and had puffed tobacco at him in derision. The story, he said, was a pure fiction. "And now," he concluded by saying, "I entreat that you all will join with me in prayer to that Great God of Heaven whom I have so grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, who has lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, which are courses of wickedness and vice; that His Almighty goodness will forgive me; that He will cast away my sins from me, and that He will receive me into everlasting life; so I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God."[2]

The execution.

As soon as the preparations were completed, Raleigh turned to the executioner, and asked to see the axe. "I prithee," said he, as the man held back, "let me see it; dost thou think that I am afraid of it?" He ran his finger down the edge, saying to himself, "This is sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all diseases." He then knelt down, and laid his head upon the block. Some one objected that he ought to lay his face towards the east: "What matter," he said, "how the head lie, so the heart be right?" After he had prayed for a little while, he gave the appointed signal; seeing that the headsman was reluctant to do his duty, he called upon him to strike. In two blows the head was severed from the body. His remains were delivered to his wife, and were by her buried in St. Margaret's at Westminster.

Some verses written by Raleigh the night before his execution were discovered, and were soon passed from hand to hand.

[1] In this, no doubt, he is to be believed. Probably, however, he said something on which the charge was founded. Stukely says that Pennington was the captain who refused to follow him. If so, the story is not likely to be a pure invention.

[2] *S. P. Dom.* ciii. 53.

They form a strange medley, in which faith and confidence in God appear side by side with sarcasms upon the lawyers and the courtiers. It was perhaps at a later hour that he wrote on the fly leaf of his Bible those touching lines in which the higher part of his nature alone is visible:—

Raleigh's last verses.

> "Even such is time that takes on trust
> Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
> And pays us but with age and dust;
> Who in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days!
> But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
> The Lord shall raise me up, I trust."

"No matter how the head lie, so the heart be right." Perhaps, after all, no better epitaph could be found to inscribe upon Raleigh's tomb. For him, the child of the sixteenth century, it was still possible to hold truth and falsehood lightly, without sinking into meanness. In his chase after wealth, he was never sordid or covetous. His sins had brought with them their own punishment, a punishment which did not tarry because he was so utterly unconscious of them. Yet it was no mere blindness to his errors which made all England feel that Raleigh's death was a national dishonour. His countrymen knew that in his wildest enterprises he had always before him the thought of England's greatness, and that, in his eyes, England's greatness was indissolubly connected with the truest welfare of all other nations. They knew that his heart was right.

General indignation.

Against the flood of indignation which was strongly setting against him, James in vain attempted to make head. By his directions, Bacon drew up the Declaration,[1] which had been previously suggested by the commissioners. It was founded on the evidence which had been taken, and there is not the smallest reason to suspect that any false statement was intentionally inserted by James or his ministers. But it was unfortunately published at a time when Raleigh

The King's Declaration.

[1] *Letters and Life*, vi. 284.

had been rendered incapable of criticising its assertions; and in starting from the theory that the mine was a mere figment of Raleigh's imagination, it left out of sight the fact that he had reason to believe that the mine existed, though he certainly had no conclusive evidence on the point.

To such a pass had James brought himself. Indolently unwilling to make himself master of anything that could be put off till a more convenient season, he had floated down the stream, till it was too late to recover his ground, and till it was impossible to punish an offender without laying himself open to the charge that he had contributed to the offence by his own negligence.

Fate of Stukely.

The public indignation, which could not openly be visited upon the King, fell with all its weight upon Stukely. He tried to hold up his head at Court, but not a man would condescend to speak to him. He hurried to James, and offered to take the Sacrament upon the truth of the story which Raleigh had denied upon the scaffold. A bystander drily observed that if the King would order him to be be headed, and if he would then confirm the truth of his story with an oath, it might perhaps be possible to believe him.[1] Sir Judas Stukely, as men called him, could find no one to listen to him. One day he went to Nottingham, with whom, as Lord High Admiral, his official duties in Devonshire had often brought him in contact, and asked to be allowed to speak to him. The old man turned upon him in an instant. "What?" he said, "thou base fellow! Thou who art reputed the scorn and contempt of men, how darest thou offer thyself into my presence? Were it not in my own house, I would cudgel thee with my staff, for presuming to be so saucy" Stukely ran off to complain to the King, but even there he met with no redress. "What," said James, "wouldst thou have me to do? Wouldst thou have me hang him? On my soul, if I should hang all that speak ill of thee, all the trees in the country would not suffice."[2]

One triumph more was in store for Raleigh's friends. A

[1] Lorkin to Puckering, Nov. 3. *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 420.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering, Jan. 5. *Ibid.* fol. 435.

few days after this scene, it was discovered that both Stukely and his son had, for many years, been engaged in the nefarious occupation of clipping coin. It was even said that when his guilt was detected, he was busy tampering with the very gold-pieces—the blood-money, as men called it—which had been paid him as the price of his services in lodging Raleigh in the Tower.[1] The news was received with a shout of exultation, and wishes were freely expressed that he might not be allowed to cheat the gallows.[2] Ready belief was for once accorded to Mannourie, who, being found to be an accomplice in his master's crime, was trying to purchase immunity for himself by accusing Stukely of having urged him to bring false charges against Raleigh.[3] James, however, thought that he owed something to his tool, and flung him a pardon for his crime.[4] Stukely did not gain much by his escape. He made his way home to his own county of Devon; but it was hardly wise of him to go amongst a people who held the name of Raleigh in more than ordinary reverence. He could not bear the looks of scorn with which his appearance was everywhere greeted. He fled away to hide his shame in the lonely Isle of Lundy, and in less than two years after Raleigh's execution he died a raving madman amidst the howling of the Atlantic storms.[5]

Many months before the death of Stukely, another man, who had, to some extent, been the cause of Raleigh's ruin, had passed away from the world. At the time when Raleigh was released from the Tower, in 1617, Cobham was still in prison. His health was giving way; and he petitioned the King to allow him to visit Bath. His request was granted, upon condition that he would engage to return to prison in the autumn. In September he was accordingly making his way back to London, and had reached Odiham, when a paralytic stroke made it impossible for him

1619. Death of Cobham.

[1] Lorkin to Puckering, Jan. 12. *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 438.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 9. *S. P. Dom.* cv. 7.

[3] Lorkin to Puckering, Feb. (?). *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 450.

[4] Pardon, Feb. 18. Pat. 16 Jac. I. Part 14.

[5] Camden *Annals.* Howel to Carew Raleigh, May 5, 1645. *Howel's Letters*, ii. 368.

to continue his journey.[1] In this condition he lingered for more than a year, and it was not till January 24, 1619, that he died. The feeling of detestation with which his memory was regarded, found expression in the fable that he died in complete destitution. For this fable there was no foundation whatever. But it was inconsistent with the popular idea of justice, that any man who had contributed to Raleigh's misfortunes, should die in ordinary comfort.[2]

[1] *Council Register*, May 14, Sept. 28, 1617.

[2] He was allowed by the King 100*l.* a year, besides 8*l.* a week for his diet. The payments were made with tolerable regularity to the last, a few weeks after they were due, as appears from the Order Book of the Exchequer, Nov. 7, Dec. 7, 1618, Feb. 6, 1619. The only support I have found for the ordinary story is a letter, in which it is said that Cobham lay unburied for want of money. Wynn to Carleton, Jan. 28. *S. P. Dom.* cv. 67. This, however, is easily accounted for. The Crown would refuse to pay the funeral expenses, and his relations may have hung back, as wishing to throw the burden upon the King.

I cannot close this chapter without again expressing my deep obligation to Mr. Spedding's discussion of Raleigh's conduct. I do not suppose that my story, as it now stands, would have secured his complete approbation, but he would, at all events, have perceived how considerably it had been modified in consequence of his argument.

CHAPTER XXVI.

VIRGINIA, AND THE EAST INDIES.

THE colonial and maritime enterprise of England did not die with Raleigh. The Colony of Virginia which, before the dream of the golden mine had led him astray, he had striven to found, was at last on the way to prosperity. Sir Thomas Dale, who succeeded Gates as governor in 1614,[1] ruled with firmness and ability. The land which had hitherto been held in common was divided into private holdings, a measure which was attended with the best effects. If the settlers did not acquire wealth rapidly, they were at least contented and prosperous. After two years, Dale returned to England well satisfied with the results of his administration.

1614. Dale's administration in Virginia.

1616.

On board the vessel on which Dale re-crossed the Atlantic was a passenger likely to attract far more attention than himself. Pocahontas, the daughter of the Indian chief Powhattan, who in the early days of the colony had served as a friendly messenger between her father and the settlers, was in the ship. She was now the wife of an Englishman, and was eagerly looking forward to the first sight of the land which, in her childhood, had so powerfully attracted her imagination.

Visit of Pocahontas to England.

The history of her marriage was a strange one. In 1612, a vessel came out to the colony, under the command of a daring and unscrupulous adventurer, named

Her previous history.

[1] See Vol. II. p. 62.

Argall. Finding that hostilities prevailed between the colonists and the natives, he formed the design of seizing as a hostage the daughter of the principal chief in the neighbourhood. By the bribe of a copper tea-kettle he induced an Indian to entice Pocahontas on board his vessel, and sailed away with his prize to Jamestown. For some months it seemed that the outrage had been committed in vain. Powhattan still refused to submit to the terms demanded of him. At last, however, he was informed that one of the settlers, named Thomas Rolfe, wished to marry his daughter. The intelligence pleased him, and a general pacification was the result. Pocahontas was instructed in the religion of her husband, and was baptized by the name of Rebecca.[1]

Sanguine men believed that in this marriage they saw the commencement of a union between the two races, from which a great Christian nation would arise in America under the protection of the English Crown. It was not so to be. The story of Pocahontas herself was too sure an indication of the fate which awaited her race. At first everything smiled upon her. Captain Smith, who had known her well in Virginia, presented her to the Queen. Anne received her kindly, and invited her to be present at the Twelfth Night masque. So delighted was the Indian girl with the brilliancy of the scenes which opened before her, that she could hardly be brought to consent to accompany her husband on his return to America. She never saw her Virginian home again. Her imagination had been excited and her brain overtasked by the throng of new sights and associations which had pressed upon her. She died at Gravesend, before she set foot on board the vessel which was to have carried her back. She left one child, a little boy. Sir Lewis Stukely, who was not as yet under the ban of popular disfavour, asked to be allowed to care for his education. After Stukely's death young Thomas Rolfe was transferred to the care of an uncle. He afterwards emigrated to his mother's country, and through

1617. Her presentation at Court.

Her death.

[1] Smith's *History of Virginia*, 112. Stith's *History of Virginia*, 127.

him many of the foremost families of Virginia have been proud to trace their lineage to the Indian Pocahontas.[1]

Invention of Smith's romance.

In England, but for her connection with the romantic adventures of Captain Smith, the name of Pocahontas would probably soon have been forgotten, along with those of so many of her race who have from time to time visited our shores. The touching story of the pardon granted to the captive Englishman through the intercession of the daughter of the Indian chief who was about to sacrifice him, won its way into all hearts, and has, for two centuries and a half, charmed readers of all ages. At one time, the criticism which has swept away so many legends seemed to have doomed the story of Smith and Pocahontas to the fate which has befallen so many legends. Later inquiry has, however, turned the scale in favour of Smith's veracity, and it seems possible that in this case, at least, the critical historian may accept the tale which is embalmed in the popular imagination.[2]

1616. Introduction of the cultivation of tobacco.

The short administration of Yeardley, who had been left behind as Dale's deputy in Virginia, was marked by the introduction into the colony of the cultivation of the tobacco plant, to which the whole of its subsequent prosperity was owing. Hitherto the settlers had been engaged in a struggle for existence; they had now at last before them an opportunity of acquiring wealth. Yet the change was not of unmixed advantage. Everyone was in haste to grow rich, and everyone forgot that tobacco would not prove a substitute for bread. Every inch of ground which had been cleared was devoted to tobacco. The very streets of Jamestown were dug up to make room for the precious leaf. Men had no time to speak of anything but tobacco. The church, the bridge, the palisades, were allowed to fall into decay, whilst every available hand was engaged upon the crop which was preparing for exportation.

[1] Smith's *History of Virginia*, 121. Chamberlain to Carleton, June 22, 1616; Jan. 28; March 29, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* lxxxvii. 67; xc. 25, 146.

[2] Smith's *True Relation of Virginia* (ed. Deane), 38, note 3; 72, note 1; Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia* (ed. Deane), 32, note 8. Mr. Deane's arguments are strongly put against the truth of the story. Professor Arber, however, who is at present editing the various narratives of Smith's adventures, and who has minutely examined such of his statements as are capable of verification, takes a very favourable view of Smith's veracity.

The natural result followed. Starvation once more stared the settlers in the face. There was not corn enough in Jamestown to last till another harvest. Yeardley, a kindly, inefficient man, had not foreseen the danger, or had been unable to make head against it; and the only remedy which he could devise was an attack upon the Chickahominies for the purpose of enforcing the payment of a corn tribute, which had been for some time in abeyance. The expedition was successful, and was, doubtless, applauded at the time. But it did not promise well for the union between the races which was to have sprung from the marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas.

Yeardley's administration.

Yeardley had held office for little more than a year when he was succeeded by Argall. The new Governor was not the man to imitate the remissness of his predecessor; and the colonists soon found that he was determined to be obeyed. The defences of Jamestown were repaired. Harsh remedies were applied to the recent disorders. Every act of the colonists was now to be fenced about with prohibitions. The trader was to content himself with a profit of twenty-five per cent. No intercourse was to be held with the Indians excepting through the medium of the constituted authorities. Whoever wasted his powder by firing a gun, excepting in self-defence, was to be condemned to penal servitude for a year. Whoever taught the use of firearms to an Indian was to be put to death.[1]

1617. Argall arrives as Governor.

Even such regulations as these might have been endured if Argall had been a man of integrity. But when it came to be known that in the eyes of the Governor he was himself the one man in Virginia who was above the law, the whole colony broke out into open discontent. Every homeward-bound vessel carried across the Atlantic complaints of his tyrannical conduct to individuals, and of his shameless robbery of the public stores.

His tyranny.

1618. Appointment and death of Lord De la Warr.

As soon as these complaints reached London, the Company requested Lord De la Warr to return to America, and to save the colony once more from ruin. In the spring of 1618 he left England, ac-

[1] Smith's *History of Virginia*, 120–123. Stith's *History of Virginia*, 140–147.

companied by the best wishes of all who took an interest in Virginia; but his weakly constitution was unable to bear up against the hardships of the voyage, and he died before the passage was completed. Argall was in consequence left a little longer in possession of the authority which he had misused. With childish spite he took especial pleasure in ruining the estates which, by De la Warr's death, had become the property of his widow. He left no stone unturned to drive Lady De la Warr's servants from her employment, and to entice them to transfer their services to himself. Hearing that Brewster, the agent in charge of the estate, had remonstrated against his proceedings, he ordered him to be seized, and sent before a court-martial to answer for the words which he had used against the Governor.

Sentence upon Brewster.

Brewster was condemned to death, and this monstrous sentence would have been carried into execution if the general voice of the colony had not compelled Argall, however unwillingly, to commute it to one of banishment from Virginia.[1]

The news of these extraordinary proceedings excited no little indignation in London. The Company, warned by the failure of their attempt to substitute King Stork for King Log, restored Yeardley to the post from which they had recalled him, and ordered him to send Argall home to give an account of his conduct.

Argall is recalled.

Yeardley's appointment was fortunately something more than a mere change of governors. By the instructions which he carried out, he was directed to put an end for ever to the system of martial law which had been introduced by Dale, and which had recently been so terribly abused. He was also ordered to call together an assembly, freely elected by the colonists, before which he was to lay a code of laws which had been prepared for their use in England.

1619. His flight.

The new Governor arrived too late to secure the punishment of Argall. Timely notice had been given him, and he had made his escape from the colony. But no time was lost in laying the foundations of a more pros-

[1] Stith's *History of Virginia*, 149.

perous future. On July 30, 1619, the first Colonial Parliament gathered round Yeardley at Jamestown.[1] From henceforth Virginia was to be governed by its own laws, freely accepted by its own representatives. England had stamped her own likeness upon her creation, and the first of the free colonies of England had taken firm root by the side of the flaunting glories of the Spanish Empire.

The first Colonial Parliament.

The changes by which the colony had been distracted were not without effect upon the Company at home. At the time when Yeardley sailed, Sir Thomas Smith still presided over its fortunes, with the title of Treasurer. It had become the fashion in Virginia to look upon him as the source of all the evils that had befallen the colony, and though there was probably some exaggeration in this, the charges brought against him were not without foundation. His temper was easy, and he was lax in his attention to the duties of his office. It was to his relationship with Smith that Argall owed his appointment. Smith was not without influence even at Court, as his son, Sir John Smith, had married a daughter of Lord Rich, and the support of the Rich family was in consequence given to Argall.

The Company in England.

The Company was not to be misled. It refused to re-elect Smith to the office of Treasurer. His successor was Sir Edwin Sandys, who had taken a leading part in the preparation of the laws which had just been sent out to Virginia, and whose services in the English Parliament had well fitted him to preside over the introduction of parliamentary institutions in America.[2]

Sandys Treasurer of the Company.

It is owing to Sandys that the year 1619 is a date to be remembered in the history of English colonisation. The election of a leading member of the Parliamentary Opposition to the responsible office of Treasurer is an evidence that in the Virginia Company, as in the City of London, and as in every

[1] The proceedings of this Assembly, the loss of which was regretted by Mr. Bancroft, are in the Record Office, *S. P. Colonial*, i. 45.

[2] Stith's *History of Virginia*, 153–158.

body of active and intelligent men, the spirit of opposition to the Court and its minions was on the increase. The breach thus made was to grow wider every year, till the Company was swept away by the irritation of the King. But in the meanwhile Sandys had done his work. He had planted the standard of free institutions at Jamestown, and under the shadow of that standard Virginia grew and prospered when the Company which had fostered the colony in its infancy had ceased to exist.

The course of English adventure in America finds, in some respects, its parallel in the long struggle of the East India Company for the establishment of commercial relations with the extreme East. There, too, English enterprise was at first attracted to those parts which were richest in the promise of a lucrative trade. As in America, it found them pre-occupied, and, after a long and fruitless struggle with its rivals, it discovered its Virginia in the peninsula of India. In many respects, indeed, there is no parallel to be drawn between the attitude of Spain towards the English in the West Indies and the attitude of the Dutch in the Eastern Seas. As far as the Continent, or even the larger islands were concerned, it would have been madness, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for either England or the Netherlands to think of establishing an empire similar to that which had been built up by Spain in America. The native states were far too powerful, and the climate was too unsuited for permanent occupation by large bodies of the inhabitants of Northern Europe. It was enough if factories could be established at the points most suitable for commercial intercourse. That bitter jealousies should arise between the merchants of the two nations was only to be expected. Here and there a party of Englishmen would come to blows with a party of Dutchmen, and broken heads, or even the loss of some lives, would be the result. The chiefs of the rival factories would intrigue with the native princes for exclusive privileges. But, on the whole, no very great harm would be done. The peace would be kept by a strong native Government, which it would be hopeless to resist.

1605. The English and Dutch in the East.

The local hatreds would be bitter enough ; but they would not blaze out into internecine war, nor would they be of sufficient importance to call for more than a passing notice from the Governments of London and the Hague.

The Spice Islands.

There were in part of the Indian Ocean a few islands, teeming with valuable productions, where these conditions were reversed, and where was no native state powerful enough to defy European aggression. Pepper might be shipped at any port in Java or Sumatra. It was a mere matter of convenience at what point in the Indian peninsula the trade in calicoes should be conducted. But nutmegs were, at that time, only to be found in the little group of the Banda Isles, and cloves grew nowhere in the world except on the five islands to which the name of the Moluccas had originally belonged, and on the more southerly archipelago which clustered round the noble harbour of Amboyna as its commercial centre.

The Portuguese ejected by the Dutch.

It was after a long and arduous struggle that the Dutch had succeeded in driving the Portuguese, at that time counted amongst the subjects of the King of Spain, out of Amboyna and the Moluccas. They did not profess to come as conquerors. They came, as Raleigh had come to Guiana, to defend the natives from the oppression of their tyrants. All that they required in return from the grateful islanders, for whose sake, as they said, they erected forts and kept up garrisons, was that they should enter into an engagement not to sell spice to any but themselves.

1609. The Dutch in the Bandas.

From Amboyna an expedition was fitted out in 1609 to take possession of the Bandas. The fear of the Dutch compelled the inhabitants of Neira, the principal, though not the largest, island of the group, to grant to them by treaty a monopoly of their trade ;[1] and this treaty was long afterwards appealed to as conferring upon the Dutch East India Company the sovereignty not merely of the island of which they were actually in possession, but of the whole surrounding group. In spite of the treaty, the

[1] *Purchas*, i. 717.

natives soon combined in an attempt to drive out the invaders. The next year, however, David Middleton, coming to the Bandas in search of nutmegs, found that a fort had been built by the Dutch, and that Neira was in complete subjection, although the remaining islands still maintained a precarious independence.[1]

The *Mare Liberum* of Grotius.

These proceedings of the Dutch formed a strange comment upon the *Mare Liberum*, the celebrated treatise, published in 1609, by Grotius at Leyden, in which he proved, to the logical discomfiture of the Portuguese, that commercial monopolies were contrary to all laws, human and divine.

The commercial question preceded by the territorial.

That Grotius was in the right no one in the present day will be found to question. Liberty of trade is a good thing in all places and at all times. But what Grotius, working out his problem with all theoretical correctness, failed to see, was that there was another question to be settled before the commercial difficulty could even be approached. It was, in fact, as impossible to agree to freedom of trade before the territorial limits of the European Powers in the newly-discovered countries had been settled, as it was to allow religious liberty before the absolute independence of the national Governments was admitted. An English merchant landing at Surat in the seventeenth century, came like a French merchant landing at Sydney in the nineteenth century, merely to buy the products of the country. But an English merchant asking for freedom of trade at the harbour of Amboyna or at the mouth of the Orinoco in the reign of James I. was not unreasonably regarded with as much suspicion as a Jesuit asking for freedom of conscience in England in the reign of Elizabeth. The request was denied, not so much to the unarmed trader by whom it was preferred, as to the armed force which he was supposed to have at his back.

That the Dutch should form commercial establishments in a number of small islands without acquiring territorial

[1] *Purchas*, i. 238.

sovereignty was impossible. It was still more impossible to share this sovereignty with another European nation. Englishmen and Dutchmen might continue to trade amicably within the dominions of the Great Mogul, because, under the sway of that powerful monarch, both held their factories on sufferance. But the presence of Englishmen and Dutchmen together at Amboyna or the Bandas could produce nothing but anarchy. Whenever the natives had real or imaginary grounds of complaint against either factory they would appeal to the other for support, and the mutual exasperation would end in a deadly quarrel, of which the inevitable result would be the expulsion or the annihilation of one of the contending parties.

Free trade impossible in the Spice Islands.

Looking back as we do from the vantage ground on which we stand, it is possible to see that in these islands the establishment of territorial dominion must have preceded commercial freedom.[1] But it was hardly to be expected that the English in the East would acquiesce without a struggle in the sacrifice which such a concession demanded. As the weaker power, they cried out loudly for liberty of trade. They had loaded their vessels with cloves and nutmegs before the islands had been occupied by the Dutch, and why should they not do so now? The Dutch cried out no less loudly against this impertinent interference with their subjects, and complained bitterly that it was unfair that, whilst their own trade was burthened with the expense of maintaining forts and garrisons to keep out the Portuguese, the English, who were under no such obligations, should be enabled to undersell them in the European market.

It is claimed by the English.

In 1613, Jourdain was sent out from the English headquarters at Bantam with orders to re-open the clove trade at Amboyna and the neighbouring island of Ceram. Everywhere the natives had the same story to tell him. They would gladly sell him all the spice they

1613. Jourdain's voyage.

[1] In fact, there was needed the adoption of a principle of *cujus regio, ejus commercium*, analogous to the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio*. Both were steps of progress, yet both look mean enough in comparison with that which has been since attained.

had, but the Dutch had threatened them with instant ruin if they permitted a single bag of cloves to find its way on board the English vessels.[1]

The next year no fresh attempt was made. But in 1615 Skinner was despatched with instructions to open factories, if possible, both at the Bandas and at Amboyna. At Neira the complaints of the natives were terrible. "It is enough," they said, "to make old men weep; and the child, too, that is yet unborn. God has given the country to us and ours; but He has sent the Dutch as a plague to take it from us." Those who heard the sad tale were powerless to render assistance. The Dutch commanders ordered Skinner to leave the island, and, in the face of seven well-armed vessels lying before the fort, it was hope less to resist. The English met with similar treatment at Amboyna and Ceram, though Skinner succeeded in leaving a pinnace to trade with the friendly natives of Puloway, an island of the Banda group which was as yet unoccupied by the Dutch.[2]

1615.

As soon as the Dutch at Neira heard that Englishmen had been left at Puloway they determined to make a vigorous effort to reduce the island before succour could arrive. The assailants were driven off by the natives,[3] and upon their return to their head-quarters at Neira, the Dutch officers complained that they had found arms of English make in the possession of those whom they chose to call rebels against their authority. The English pinnace remained at the island till August, and, when it sailed away with its cargo of nutmegs, Robert Hunt was left behind as factor for the Company.

The Dutch attack upon Puloway.

In the following March, four English ships arrived at Puloway, under the command of Samuel Castleton. Scarcely

[1] Jourdain's Journal, *Sloane MSS.* 858, fol. 83.

[2] Welding to Jourdain, May 23. Farie to the Company, July 26, 1614. Instructions from Jourdain, Jan. 24. Boyle to the Company, Feb. 18. Skinner to Denton, July 12. Cockayne to Smith, July 16. Jourdain to the Company, Dec. 26, 1615, *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.*

[3] Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Ost-Indien*, Deel iii; Stuk. ii. 81.

had they cast anchor when eleven Dutch vessels put out from Neira to oppose them. The natives of Puloway, and of the neighbouring island of Pularoon, were encouraged by the presence of Castleton to make a formal surrender of the islands to Hunt as the representative of the King of England. They were a warlike race, and judging by what took place in these seas in the following year, it would seem that with their assistance it would not have been difficult to hold both the islands. Castleton, however, thought otherwise, and entered into negotiations with the Dutch. It was agreed that Hunt should give no assistance to the natives, on condition that the Dutch, if they proved successful, would share the trade with the English. With this promise Castleton professed himself satisfied, and sailed away, leaving Puloway to its fate. As soon as he was gone, Hunt's native forces mutinied, and he was obliged to fly from the island to save his life. The Dutch, relieved from his presence, continued the struggle, and, reducing the natives to subjection, thought no more of their agreement.[1]

1616. Puloway and Pularoon surrendered to Hunt.

Puloway taken by the Dutch.

News in the seventeenth century did not travel fast, and it was not till September, 1617, that the company in London heard that Puloway had been lost eighteen months before. There was no sign of flinching. Ever since the failure of the negotiations with the Dutch in 1615,[2] the English Company must have expected something of the kind. They at once ordered that six ships should be got ready in the spring, to defend their interests in the East. "By such strength," they say in their Minutes, "the inhabitants of Banda and the Moluccas will be encouraged to deal with the English when they shall find them of power to resist the wrongs put on them by the Hollanders." They did not intend to send the fleet 'to oppose the Hollanders in hostile manner, but to

1617. Resolution of the Company.

[1] Compact with the Dutch, March 16. Directions to Hunt, March (?), 1616, *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.*, *Purchas*, i. 608. Jourdain's Journal; *Sloane MSS.* 858, fol. 106. The information on Castleton's voyage is, however, extremely imperfect.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 314.

countenance their business, that they be not put down or forced from their trade :—which it seems they do intend in all parts :—but to send a good strength both to the Moluccas and Banda, and do it to purpose once for all, and try what the Hollanders will do, if a man of courage may be had that will not endure their wrongs. But as yet they have only given words, and no deeds.'[1]

The last sentence was evidently aimed at Castleton. It was not till after the interval of a year that the Company learned that the man of courage of whom they had been in search had been found amongst their servants in the East. Late in 1616, two vessels, the 'Swan' and the 'Defence,' were despatched from Bantam under the command of Nathaniel Courthope, one of those forgotten worthies by whose stern self-sacrifice in the face of the calls of duty the English Empire has been built up in every quarter of the globe. In fulfilment of his instructions,[2] he steered for Pularoon, which was as yet unsubdued by the Dutch. His first step was to convince himself by inquiry that the surrender of the two islands to Hunt had been made in proper form. He then, having first accepted from the natives a confirmation of their previous act, sent to inform the Dutch Governor of Puloway that both islands were included in the dominions of the King of England.

1616. Courthope at Pularoon.

Courthope's message was at once treated as a challenge. On January 3, three Dutch ships sailed into Pularoon roads, and dropped anchor close to the 'Swan' and the 'Defence.' If Courthope had not taken the precaution of erecting two batteries on shore, his case would have been hopeless. As it was, he was able to take a high tone with the new-comers. He ordered them to put to sea at once. If they were not gone before midnight, they must take the consequences.

1617. He compels the Dutch to retire.

The Dutch commanders glanced at the English batteries on the shore, and at the swarms of hostile natives crowding upon the beach. They shrank from the conflict, and, before midnight

[1] *E. I. C. Court Minutes*, Sept. 25, 1617.

[2] Instructions to Courthope, Oct. 29, 1616, *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.*

came, they were on their way back to Neira. A week later a Dutch pinnace, which by accident or design stood in close to the shore, was greeted with a storm of shot from the English guns.

Capture of the 'Swan.'

Courthope's difficulties were only beginning. His officers and men were insubordinate, and, against his advice, Davey, the Master of the 'Swan,' carried his ship over to the Great Banda for water. Seeing that he was determined to go, Courthope directed him to visit the town of Weyre, on the Great Banda, and the Island of Rossengain, as it was understood that the inhabitants were anxious to cede their territory to the English. Davey carried out his instructions, and the cession was formally made; but on his return to Pularoon he was intercepted by a Dutch vessel of far superior strength to his own. After a severe fight, the 'Swan' was carried into Neira Roads with the English colours trailing over the stern in derision.

The 'Defence' given up to the Dutch.

It was some time before the news of the loss of the 'Swan' reached Pularoon. Undismayed at his misfortune, Courthope set to work to complete his fortifications. But his own men were discontented. They had come to Pularoon, they told him, to trade, and not to fight. On the night of March 26, whilst the commander was on shore, the crew of the 'Defence' mutinied, and, carrying the vessel to Neira, delivered her up to the Dutch.[1]

Courthope holds out.

To complete Courthope's misfortunes, he had no hope of assistance till the westerly monsoon blew again at the end of the year; and as the island of Pularoon was one of the westernmost of the group, he was exposed to an attack from Neira for at least six months. He had but thirty-eight of his men on shore with him when he was deserted by the 'Defence.' Food, too, was running short, and, if it had not been for the opportune arrival of two junks laden with rice, starvation would have done the enemy's work. All that he could do was to send news to his countrymen at Bantam in a

[1] Correspondence between Courthope, and the Dutch commanders, Jan.–April, 1617, *S. P. East Indies.* Surrender of Pularoon and Puloway. Spurway to the Company, *Purchas*, i. 701, 608.

native boat, and to wait hopefully for the help which was sure to come at last.

The Dutch made up their minds to proceed to extremities. The 'Speedwell,' an English pinnace, sailing along the coast of Java, was fired at by the Dutch admiral, and captured. At Bantam, a declaration of war against all who attempted to trade in the Spice Islands was fixed to the door of the English factory. The two fleets were only prevented from fighting in the roads by the interposition of the native king, who threatened that, if they did not keep the peace, he would cut the throats of every European on shore.[1]

Capture of the 'Speedwell.'

It was high time that the Company should take some steps to send help to the brave men who were imperilling their lives in its behalf. The winter of 1617 had been spent in preparations for the expedition which was to sail in the spring. It was not till April, 1618,[2] more than a year after the capture of Courthope's last vessel, that the fleet destined for his relief was ready to sail. It was composed of six ships, and was placed, at Southampton's recommendation, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale.[3] It was, perhaps, all that could be done; but the shareholders must have had great faith in Dale's energy and talents if they thought that, with the miserably insufficient force at his disposal, he would be able to accomplish the object for which he was sent. His adversaries had at their command a fleet of thirty sail, and in case of necessity could fall back upon the twenty-two fortified posts where the four thousand soldiers of the great Dutch Company kept watch and ward over its interests in the East.[4]

1618. Dale sent out from England.

Dale's little squadron had hardly left the Thames when a distorted account of the loss of the two vessels, in which the whole blame was thrown upon Courthope, reached England through a Dutch channel.[5]

[1] Remonstrance of the state of the question, &c., Jan (?), 1619, Holland. News brought by a French vessel, 1618 (?), *S. P. East Indies.*

[2] Lovelace to Carleton, April 6, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcvii. 9.

[3] *E. I. C. Court Minutes*, Sept. 30, 1617; Feb. 3, 1618.

[4] Bell to Carleton, Sept. 12, 1618, *S. P. Holland.*

[5] Carleton to Chamberlain, April 25. Carleton to Lake, April 25. Carleton to Beecher, April 30, 1618, *S. P. Holland.*

The Dutch were the first to take action. The wealthy merchants who presided over the fortunes of the East India Company of the Netherlands were far from sharing in the fierce antagonism against everything English which animated their subordinates in the Indies. All they cared for was to secure large dividends, and they were well aware that these would be seriously affected by the outbreak of a war. Caron, the Dutch Ambassador in London, was therefore at once directed to propose the renewal of the negotiations which had failed in 1615, and, at the same time, to present a complaint against the assistance rendered by the English to the Bandanese.[1]

The Dutch propose to negotiate.

For some time nothing was done. The Dutch Republic was in the throes of its religious revolution, and it was not till Maurice was thoroughly established in power that any serious attempt was made to open negotiations. By that time the indignation of the English Company was excited. The news which they received from their own agents in the East had told them what Courthope's conduct had really been, and they presented a petition to the King, demanding justice for the outrages to which they had been exposed. The party of the Prince of Orange, which was now in power, had every wish to remain on good terms with England, and early in October commissioners were appointed to go over to London to discuss the matters in dispute.[2]

1618. Attempted reprisals on the Dutch.

Just as the Commissioners were ready to start, an incident occurred which threatened to interrupt the good understanding prevailing between the two Governments. News arrived in London that one of the vessels

[1] Caron to the States-General, $\frac{\text{April 28}}{\text{May 8,}}$ May $\frac{\text{7, June 25,}}{\text{17, July 5,}}$ 1618. *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 284, 289, 305.

[2] Contarini to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Sept. 25,}}{\text{Oct. 5.}}$ *Venice MSS.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{Sept. 25.}}{\text{Oct. 5.}}$ Naunton to Carleton, Sept. 8, *S. P. Dom.* civ. 62. Bell to Carleton, Sept. 12. Carleton to Naunton, Sept. 15. Naunton to Carleton, Sept. 24. Carleton to the King, Sept. 29. Resolution of the States-General, Oct. $\frac{9.}{19.}$ Carleton to Naunton, Oct. 12, 1618, *S. P. Holland.*

which had taken part in the capture of the 'Swan' was in the Channel. With more zeal than discretion, the English Company applied to the Admiralty Court for a commission to arrest it. The request was at once granted, but before anything was done the vessel had passed the Straits and was safe in a Dutch port.

The Dutch Government was indignant at the insult. They suspected the King of having authorised the attempt to obtain satisfaction by force at a time when negotiations had been already commenced. James, however, assured Caron that he knew nothing about the matter, and Caron informed his masters that he had no reason to doubt the truth of the King's assertion.[1] The commissioners were accordingly allowed to start.

Arrival of the Dutch commissioners.

On November 27, the Dutch negotiators arrived in London.[2] Their instructions authorised them to treat on the Spitzbergen whale-fishery, in which the English and Dutch had lately come to blows, as well as on the East India trade. This was not enough for James, who wished the whole of his grievances to be settled once for all. There were matters relating to the cloth trade, and to the relative value of the coinages, which required adjustment; but his principal complaint was that the Dutch refused to renounce their claim to fish for herrings off the British coast.

The herring fishery.

In England and Scotland the herring-fishery had been almost totally neglected. Here and there in fine weather a few small boats would put off timidly a little distance from the shore, and would bring home a supply for the temporary wants of the local market.[3] Of late years the

[1] Contarini (Nov. $\frac{6}{16}$, 1618, *Venice MSS.*) speaks of the order as emanating from the King. But Caron, writing on the same day (*Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 353), after giving the King's disclaimer, adds an instance in which a similar order had been issued without any authority from the King. James was at Royston at the time, and may not have been consulted in a matter requiring such haste.

[2] Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, $\frac{\text{Nov. 28,}}{\text{Dec. 8,}}$ 1611, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I., fol. 363.

[3] Burroughs, *Sovereignty of the Seas*, 117.

Dutch had discovered the value of the prize which Englishmen had allowed to slip out of their hands, and every season large fleets of well-built vessels put out from the ports of Holland and Zealand to fish in English waters.

James had long looked upon this disregard of his prerogative with displeasure. In 1607 he had issued a proclamation [1] forbidding foreigners to fish off the English coast without a licence. But little respect had been paid to the prohibition; and when, ten years later, an attempt was made on the coast of Scotland to enforce the rights of the Crown by the demand of the old customary tax known as the size herring, the Dutch captain replied by carrying the officer of the customs a prisoner to Holland. As a matter of form, James required the offender to be sent over to England. But he treated him kindly, and contented himself with requiring that the commissioners who were shortly to negotiate on the business of the East Indies should also be empowered to settle the disputes relating to the fishery.[2]

Disputes with the Dutch.

The first thing that James learnt, after the arrival of the commissioners, was that they had no instructions on the subject. He at once sent for them to Whitehall, where they were soundly rated by Bacon for coming with insufficient powers. In their answer the commissioners spoke of their claim to fish as being an immemorial possession. By this language they added fuel to the flame, and at one time it seemed likely that they would be sent back without a hearing upon the more important matters with which they were charged. Even if the Dutch Government had been willing to prohibit the fishery, they would hardly have dared to take a step which would have brought ruin on thousands of families.

Postponement of the question.

James's anger seldom lasted long. The commissioners were allowed to explain away their words. They had no in-

[1] Proclamation, May 7, 1607, printed in Needham's Translation of Selden's *Mare Clausum*.

[2] The Lords of the Council to Carleton, Aug. 4, 1617, *Carleton Letters*, 156. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, May $\frac{7}{17}$, June $\frac{4}{14}$, 1618.

tention, they said, to deny his right of regulating the fishery off his own coasts; but the struggle with the Arminians was scarcely at an end, and in the midst of these difficulties it was impossible for them to treat on so delicate a subject. In reply, James disclaimed any wish to deprive the fishermen of their bread; but if it cost him his life, his crown, and all that he had, his prerogative must be maintained. Messages were sent to and fro between London and the Hague, and James finally contented himself with an engagement that whenever the Dutch Government was sufficiently settled, the matter should be taken in hand.[1]

1619.

At last, after a delay of some weeks, the negotiations on the East India trade were allowed to commence. Five members of the Privy Council were joined with deputies of the Company to meet the commissioners. The question of the restitution of the captured vessels and their lading was the first to be discussed, and it was, after a long dispute, agreed that the captors should not be required to make good any damages sustained by the prizes whilst in their hands, unless it could be distinctly proved that the vessels had been employed in their service at the time.[2]

The negotiations on the East India trade.

Scarcely was this preliminary point settled, when news arrived from the East which must have convinced everyone who was interested in the success of the negotiations that there was no time to be lost. Through the whole of the summer of 1617, Courthope had maintained his ground at Pularoon, waiting for the westerly monsoon which was to bring him help from Bantam. At length the wind changed, and the hopes of the little garrison rose as they heard it sweeping through the nutmeg trees. But still the weeks passed wearily

News from the East.

[1] Naunton to Carleton, Dec. 16, 21, 22, 29, 1618; Jan. 2, 21, 1619. Carleton to the King, Jan. 3. Carleton's proposition, Jan. 22. Reply of the States-General, Feb. 13, 1619, *S. P. Holland.* The Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, Dec. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1618, $\frac{\text{Dec } 24}{\text{Jan. } 3}$, $\frac{18}{9}$, Jan. $\frac{3}{13}$, Jan. 23, Feb. 2, 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 367, 370, 374, 380.

[2] Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 23}{\text{Feb. } 2}$, 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 380. First article of the Treaty; Ordre Reglé par les Compagnies. Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v. ii. 333, 335.

away, and day after day they saw the sun sinking into a sailless sea. At last, on the morning of March 25, more than fifteen months after his arrival in the island, Courthope caught sight of two vessels in the offing. They had been detained by storms, and that very morning the wind veered round to the east and hindered their approach to the shore. Then the Dutch fleet from Neira knew that its time was come, and bore down upon its prey. The English ships, the 'Solomon' and the 'Assistance,' were deeply laden with provisions for the relief of their countrymen, and were in no condition to resist the attack. Yet it was only after a combat of seven hours that they surrendered, and were carried, with every mark of the derision of the captors, into Neira Roads. The crews were put in irons, and were subjected to all possible hardships short of actual starvation.

1618. Loss of the 'Solomon' and the 'Assistance.'

Courthope, who had witnessed the disaster from the shore, contrived to send a letter to Bantam. He marvelled, he wrote, that so small a force had been sent. It was idle to expect justice from the Dutch. He had held Pularoon against them for more than a year. He and his men had lived on rice and water, and had thought themselves fortunate that even that was to be had. Now another twelvemonth, with its want and misery, was before them. The Dutch had eight ships at Neira, and he was in hourly expectation of an attack; yet he would do his best till the monsoon changed. If the Dutch were too strong for him, he trusted, with God's help, to make them pay dearly for their victory.[1]

Courthope holds out.

It would have been, indeed, to turn Courthope's disasters to account, if the English Government had been led by them to consider, a little more deeply than before, the real nature of the problem which it was called upon to solve. The intelligence which every ship brought from the scene of strife should have carried conviction to the mind of James that the only hope of preserving peace in

The negotiations in London continued.

[1] Courthope's Journal. *Purchas*, i. 664. Courthope to Bell, April 24, 1618. *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.* The news which, according to Salvetti (*News-Leiter*, Jan. $\frac{21}{31}$, 1619), reached England in January, 1619, was probably in less detail, and perhaps came through a Dutch channel.

the East lay in as strict a definition as possible of the territorial limits of the two Companies. As long as human nature remained what it was, Dutchmen and Englishmen, placed in too close contact, would fly at one another's throats. Mercantile quarrels in the nineteenth century are easily settled. In the remotest corner of the globe in which there is any danger to be apprehended, the presence of an armed force, commanded by officers who are themselves strangers to the questions at issue, is certain to enforce upon the combatants the duty of appealing for redress to their respective Governments. But in the seventeenth century the armed force was commanded by the merchants themselves, and two years at least must elapse before a letter written from the Bandas could receive an answer from Europe.

1619.

By those who were on the spot some weight had been given to these considerations. In 1616, Courthope had carried with him instructions to avoid places already in the possession of the Dutch, and to content himself with taking possession of unoccupied islands in the name of the King of England. It was too much, however, to expect that, till they had received the confirmation of a bitter experience, such views would be favourably regarded in London, where the Company was inclined either to under-estimate the preponderance of the Dutch forces in the East, or to imagine that it would be possible to counterbalance them by the pressure which it was in the power of the King of England to put upon the States-General.

Views of the merchants.

By contenting themselves with asking for the islands which had been ceded to Courthope, the Company would have gained in security, though undoubtedly they would have sacrificed the prospect of enormous gains. They had taken up the cry of liberty of commerce without the slightest idea of its real meaning. It was all very well to demand free trade if there was nothing else to be had. It was better than no trade at all. But, in the seventeenth century, no one but a madman would have denied that the smallest share in a monopoly was preferable to the freest commerce in the world. The English merchants, therefore, gave the Dutch commis-

sioners to understand that if they would in any way admit them to a share of the trade, without requiring them to merge their corporate existence in that of the Company of the Nether lands, they would be ready to meet them half-way.

On these terms the negotiators were not long in coming to an agreement. Both Companies shrank from the competition which would be the result of the division of the Spice Islands, and it was resolved by both that the monopoly should remain intact. The cloves and nutmegs were from henceforth to be bought on a common account, and after being divided in certain fixed proportions between the Companies, were to be sold in Europe at a price determined by mutual agreement. In what proportion the spice was to be divided was more difficult to decide. The English asked for a half. The Dutch thought they ought to be content with a quarter. After much wrangling, it was determined that it should be a third. The monopoly was also to include the pepper trade of Java, but, as the Dutch could lay no claim to the possession of the island, the crop was to be equally divided between the two nations. In the other ports in the Indian Ocean commerce was to be open to both.[1]

Division of the monopoly.

One point remained to be settled. How were the Spice Islands to be fortified against the Portuguese? It was agreed, without difficulty, that the expenses of the defence should be discharged out of a fund raised by a duty on exports, and that a fleet, composed of an equal number of English and Dutch ships, should be placed at the disposal of a council at which each of the two nations was represented by four members. It was also agreed that existing fortifications should remain in the hands of their original possessors; or, in other words, that the English garrison should be unmolested at Pularoon, and that the other islands should be left in possession of the Dutch.

Dispute about the fortresses.

[1] Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, Feb. $\frac{4}{14}$, Feb. 21, May $\frac{1}{11}$, Mar. 3, 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 389, 392, 418. The Dutch proposed that one-third of the trade in the whole of the Indies should be assigned to the English, but this was refused.

The demand of the English negotiators to be allowed to erect new fortifications wherever they thought fit was met by a flat refusal.[1] This question contained, in truth, the kernel of the treaty. To the Dutch it was plain that, if they gave way, the new forts would, sooner or later, be used against themselves. To the English it was equally plain that, without such protection, they would be at the mercy of the Dutch. Neither side would give way. Each felt instinctively that the treaty could not be carried out under such conditions, and neither was willing to find itself, when war broke out afresh, in the power of its antagonist.

Appeal to the King.

The puzzled negotiators appealed to the King. James had taken a deep interest in the progress of the discussion, and, from time to time, had interfered to soften down the asperities which had been provoked. The problem before him, however, was not one which could be solved by a few civil words. He had to reconcile two diametrically opposite pretensions. It was not in his nature to go to the root of the difficulty, and, as usual, he chose rather to go round the obstacle than to surmount it. He contented himself with a recommendation that the question should be reserved for a more convenient opportunity. In two or three years, he said, experience would have shown at what points fortifications would be most needed, and the negotiations could then be resumed with a better prospect of success.[2]

His recommendation.

Dissatisfaction of the English Company.

The King's award was received with indignant protests by all who had any interest in the English Company.[3] And yet it is difficult to see what more they could have asked him to do. It was notorious that their own forces in the East were far inferior to those at the dis-

[1] Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, April $\frac{16}{26}$, 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 413.

[2] Locke to Carleton, April 24, *S. P. Dom.* cviii. 71. Balconqual to Carleton, May 20, *S. P. Holland.* The Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, $\frac{\text{May } 25.}{\text{June } 4,}$ 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 423.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 5, *S. P. Dom.* cix. 75. Petition of the E. I. C., June (?), 1619, *S. P. East Indies.*

posal of their rivals, and they could hardly expect, in such a cause, to embroil England in the most unpopular and impolitic of wars. The real weakness of the agreement did not arise from the King's refusal to thrust English garrisons upon Dutch territory, but in the success of the English merchants in establishing a treaty right to share in the commerce of islands which were under the territorial sovereignty of another nation.

Satisfaction of the anti-Spanish party.

By the politicians who looked with jealousy upon the growing influence of Spain, the arrangement was welcomed in a very different manner. To Pembroke and Naunton, it was enough that an accommodation had been brought about, whatever its terms might be, and they trusted hopefully that the commercial union with Holland would soon be followed by a political union.[1] Yet even Pembroke and Naunton must sometimes have looked wistfully for news from the East, knowing as they did that a whole year must still elapse before an agreement made in London could be published in the Bandas.

Signature of the treaty.

The treaty was signed on June 2, 1619.[2] On July 15, the Dutch commissioners were entertained at a splendid banquet in Merchant Taylors' Hall. After dinner they were informed by Digby that the King would not press them about the Spitzbergen whale fishery.[3] He would give them three years to make restitution to the English subjects whom they had wronged.

The Spitzbergen whale-fishery.

Unfortunately, whilst the commissioners were negotiating in London, the conflict between the forces of the two nations in the East had broken out into a flame. In November, 1618, Dale arrived at Bantam, and at once declared war upon the Dutch. On December 23,

1618.

Dale defeats the Dutch.

[1] Pembroke to Carleton, July 11. Locke to Carleton, July 17, 1619. *S. P. Holland.*

[2] Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v. ii. 333

[3] Commonly known as the Greenland fishery. In the Declaration of the Dutch Commissioners, July 15, 1619, *S. P. Holland*, it is said to be 'on the coast of Greenland, otherwise called King James's Newland.' This was Spitzbergen, supposed to be a continuation of Greenland.

he came up with the enemy off Jacatra, and compelled the Dutch fleet to seek refuge in flight. But he did not improve the victory. Much precious time was lost in the siege of the Dutch fort at Jacatra, and when the spring came round he dispersed his fleet over every quarter of the Indian seas in search of trade. Before the English ships could gather to their rendezvous on the coast of Sumatra, Dale died of sickness at Masulipatam.[1]

The loss of the 'Star,'

Either the Dutch Admiral was less hampered by commercial necessities, or he knew better how to make use of his opportunities. With the easterly monsoon, which had carried away Dale's ships, he returned with reinforcements from Amboyna.[2] He reduced to ashes the native town of Jacatra, the king of which had given aid to the English, and on its ruins laid the foundations of the new Batavia, which was one day to be to the Dutch Company what Calcutta became to its rivals. In August the 'Star' arrived from England, bringing news of the opening of negotiations in London. As no treaty had been signed at the date of its departure, the Dutch seized the vessel, and despatched six ships to Sumatra to look out for English traders. On the coast they found four of the Company's vessels busily engaged in lading pepper.

and of four other ships.

The captain of one of these, the 'Bear,' had met Sir Thomas Roe at the Cape on his return from India. It happened that a new Dutch admiral also had been there on his outward voyage, with whom Roe had opened communications, which had ended in an agreement that hostilities should be suspended till the result of the negotiations in London could be known. In the suddenness of the attack this agreement was either not produced, or was disregarded. One of the English ships, the 'Dragon,' was forced to surrender, after a combat of an hour's duration, and the other three were too much encumbered with their lading even to attempt a defence.[3] The

[1] The details of Dale's proceedings will be found in the *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.* of the date.

[2] Churchman's relation. Undated *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.* News by the 'Union' pinnace, Aug. 5, 1619, *S. P. Holland.*

[3] Hore to the E. I. C. *Purchas*, i. 656.

prisoners were treated with the greatest inhumanity, and many of the wounded died from exposure to the rain upon the open deck. Amongst the prizes on board, the Dutch sailors found a handsome knife, which had been sent out as a present from the King to the native sovereign of Acheen. They carried it about the deck in uproarious procession, shouting out at the top of their voices, "Thou hast lost thy dagger, Jemmy."[1]

Further losses.

A few days later two other English vessels were taken at Patani, and the captain of one of them was killed.[2]

At last, on March 8, 1620, news arrived of the actual signature of the treaty in London.[3] A conference was immediately held between the commanders of the two nations, and for the moment, at least, the most friendly disposition was evinced on both sides. A council of war was at once formed, and the united fleets were placed under its orders.

1620. News of the treaty reaches the East.

The news of the treaty had been delayed too long to save one valuable life. It was now three weary years since Courthope landed at Pularoon. He still held out alone and unsupported, and another six months must pass before the change of wind would make it possible to convey to him the intelligence that his labours were at an end. When the news of peace reached Pularoon, it was too late. Two months before, as Courthope was crossing to the Great Banda in a native boat, he was intercepted by two large vessels belonging to the Dutch garrison at Puloway. "The captain," as we are told in the simple narrative of his successor in command, "behaved himself courageously, until divers of the Banda men were slain; and the captain also, receiving a shot in the breast, sat down, and withal his piece being cloyed, threw it overboard, and then leaped overboard himself in his clothes, the praw being too hot to stay in."[4] When the news of the treaty at last arrived, the Dutch commander bore willing testimony to the merits of his brave adversary. "The

Death of Courthope.

[1] A brief relation of the damages lately done by the Hollanders. Undated, *S. P. Holland.*

[2] *Purchas*, i. 687.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 640

[4] Journal of Hayes, *ibid.* i. 679.

Captain Nathaniel," he wrote, "is killed in the praw, for which, God knoweth, I am heartily sorry. We have buried him so stately and honestly as ever we could, fitting to such a man." [1] So died, trusted by his countrymen, and honoured by enemies who seldom showed honour to any who bore the name of Englishman, one of the noblest of those by whose unflagging zeal the English empire in the East was founded. The day of the Drakes and the Raleighs was passing away. The day of the Blakes, the Rodneys, and the Nelsons was dawning.

[1] Van Anton to Hayes, Dec. 9, 1620. *Purchas*, i. 681.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FALL OF THE HOWARDS.

In the spring of 1618, just about the time that Raleigh returned from his disastrous voyage, a little book was published which bore the name of *The Peacemaker*.[1] It is anonymous, but the style of the greater part of it resembles that of Andrewes, though it has passages inserted in it by other hands, one of them having perhaps been written by the King himself. As it bears the royal arms, it may fairly be regarded as James's manifesto. It recites the blessings of peace.

1618. *The Peacemaker.*

"Let contention," cries the author, "enjoy—without joy—large empires; here we enjoy our happy sanctuary. It was born with him; he brought it with him after five-and-thirty years' increase, and here hath multiplied it to fifty with us: O blessed jubilee, let it be celebrated with all joy and cheerfulness, and all sing—*Beati Pacifici.*"

England and Scotland were now at one, Ireland was at peace. "Spain, that great and long-lasting opposite, betwixt whom and England the ocean ran with blood not many years before, nor ever truced her crimson effusion; their merchants on either side trafficked in blood—a commerce too cruel for Christian kingdoms—yet we shake hands in friendly amity and speak our blessing with us—*Beati Pacifici.*"

[1] Of the two editions represented in the Museum library, the first bears the date of 1618. As, however, the King is spoken of as having reigned only fifty years in Scotland, it must have been sent to the press before July 28.

To England came the nations of the Continent in search of mediation. "Denmark and Suevia; Suevia and Poland; Cleves and Brandenburg; have not these and many more come to this oracle of peace, and received their dooms from it? If the members of a natural body by concord assist one another; if the politic members of a kingdom help one another, and by it support itself, why shall not the monarchial bodies of many kingdoms be one mutual Christendom; if still they sing this blessed lesson taught them—*Beati Pacifici*?"

Here doubtless was James's ideal, the higher side of the unhappy Spanish treaty. Yet the writer could not be without misgivings. Was it true, he asks, as men said, that the age was deteriorating. If it was so, it was not because peace had been substituted for war. If drunkenness and all its evil train of sins had taken possession of the land, these were not the consequences, but the professed enemies, of Peace.

With all men a long distance separates the ideal from the actual, and in James that distance was unusually great. He could conceive the grandeur of the victories of peace though he knew not how to win them. His easy nature had nothing in it of the heroic tinge. His intellectual capacity, considerable as it was, was led captive by his personal affections, and his innate indolence of disposition. The extraordinary fondness which he displayed for Buckingham was not likely to be helpful to the cause of peace.

Buckingham's vacillations.

The two or three years which had elapsed since the sudden rise of Buckingham had witnessed many changes of his fickle nature, according as he was driven this way or that by the shifting breezes of his personal vanity. After placing his first step on the ladder of fortune by the help of the men who were most noted for their opposition to Spain, he was soon found co-operating with Gondomar to forward the Spanish alliance. A few months later he seemed likely to ally himself again with Coke and Winwood, only to fall back under the spell of Gondomar's influence; and now once more he was drifting away from his moorings, and men began to think that he would finally cast in his lot with the adversaries of Spain. If there was one object upon

which he was especially bent, it was upon having the credit of filling every office under the Crown with his own creatures. But the process of waiting for vacancies was a slow one, and there was a body of men high in office who were by no means ready to truckle to the favourite. The members of the Howard family were not possessed either of commanding abilities or of any great influence in the country, but they filled the most important posts in the state. One Howard, the Earl of Nottingham, was Lord High Admiral. Another Howard, the Earl of Suffolk, was Lord High Treasurer. The Treasurer's son-in-law, Lord Knollys, who had recently been created Viscount Wallingford, was Master of the Wards. One dependent of the family, Sir Thomas Lake, was Secretary of State; and another, Sir Henry Yelverton, was Attorney-General.

The Howards.

It was as a counterpoise to the influence of this great family that Buckingham had been originally brought before the notice of the King. To the anti-Spanish party at Court, and to the great body of the nation, the Howards were odious, as being all more or less openly Catholics at heart, and as giving their undisguised support to the marriage with the Infanta. For all this Buckingham cared but little. But he cared very much that a body of men, whose connection with his old rival Somerset was fresh in his mind, should retain the favour of the King, and should show him, by word and look, as he jostled with them at the Council table, and at Whitehall, that they knew that they did not owe their influence to his recommendation.

Opposed by Buckingham.

James had not long returned from Scotland before open war was declared between Buckingham and the Howards. During the winter, either Suffolk, or as is more probable, his domineering Countess, was looking about for another Somerset, who might supersede the favourite in the good graces of the King. One young man after another was selected, for his pleasing face and engaging manners, to be thrown in James's way. At last the choice of the party fell upon the son of Sir William Monson. They made the poor lad wash his face with curds every morning, to improve his

Monson at Court.

complexion, and hopefully waited for the result. In so doing, they showed themselves completely ignorant of James's character, of which persistency in affection was one of the most notable points. Nor was the choice which they had made a wise one. Only two years before, the youth's father and uncle had been imprisoned, nominally on account of their supposed complicity in the Overbury murder, but in reality because Sir William at least was known to have received a pension from Spain. James, too, in spite of the respect which he felt for Gondomar, had no mind to throw Buckingham over for the sake of a nominee of Philip. He accordingly sent Pembroke to young Monson, to tell him that 'the King did not approve of his forwardness. His father and uncle had been not long since called in question for matters of no small moment, and his own education had been in such places and with such persons as was not to be allowed of.'[1] One more attempt was made by Monson's friends to win the game which they had lost. On Easter-day he was sent to receive the Communion from the hands of Archbishop Abbot, in order to prove that he was not a Catholic. Often as the holy bread and wine have been prostituted to serve personal and political ends, they have been seldom, if ever, made use of for a more degrading object. It is satisfactory to know that nothing was gained by those who stooped to such a profanation.[2]

James was not slow in letting it be known that he still reposed unlimited confidence in Buckingham. In April, he granted him the lease of the Irish customs, at a rent low enough to enable him to put two or three thousand pounds a-year into his pocket.[3] Two months later

The Prince's feast.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 3, Feb. 21, 28, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcv. 5, xcvi. 23, 37.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, April 16, *S. P. Dom.* xcvii. 13.

[3] Salvetti, in his *News-Letter* of April 8, says that the rent was 5,000*l.* and the revenue twice as much. But it appears from the indenture between the King and Buckingham (May 23, 1618, *Close Rolls*, 16 Jac. I. Part 16), that the rent was 6,000*l.* and half of the remaining revenue. If we take Salvetti's estimate of the profits, Buckingham would make about 2,000*l.* by the bargain. In 1613 the customs had been leased for 6,000*l.* without any mention of half the surplus (Grants to Ingram and others, July 23,

the King seized an opportunity of declaring his feelings in a more open manner. There had been a boyish quarrel in a tennis court between the favourite and the Prince of Wales, and hard words had been freely exchanged between them. James enforced a reconciliation; and, as a pledge of its continuance, Buckingham gave a magnificent banquet, which was called the Prince's feast. The entertainment took place at Wanstead, an estate which had been successively granted by Elizabeth to Leicester and Mountjoy, and which had recently been given by James to Buckingham in exchange for land not worth a tenth part of its value.[1] As soon as the feast was ended, the King stepped up to the table at which the ladies were seated, and drank the health of the whole Villiers family. "I desire," he said, "to advance it above all others. Of myself I have no doubt, for I live to that end; and I hope that my posterity will so far regard their father's commandments and instructions, as to advance that house above all others whatever."[2]

Charges against Suffolk.

Buckingham now found himself strong enough to carry the war into the enemy's quarters. In those times it was easy enough for anyone to bring charges against any officer of the Crown, which would be very difficult to refute. For the income, even of the most guarded official, was derived from sources which it was impossible to defend on principle, and it was rarely, if ever, that any official was so guarded as not sometimes to overstep the limits recognised by the practice of the day.

To charges of this kind Suffolk was peculiarly open. Through the whole of his life, his great difficulty had been his avaricious and intriguing wife, by whom he had been dragged into his connection with successive Spanish ambassadors. In every action of his life he was contented to follow submissively in her wake: for he was an easy-tempered man, and it was

1613, *Patent Rolls*, 11 Jac. I. Part 2). So that Buckingham does not seem to have made more out of the customs than any other patentee would have done.

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, July $\frac{2}{12}$.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering, June 30, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 410.

generally thought that if he had been unmarried, he would have fulfilled the duties of his office honestly enough to have retained the white staff till his death.

Buckingham and his friends took care to let the prevalent rumours reach the ear of the King. James, being informed that Suffolk never made any payment out of the Treasury till a bribe had been given to the Countess, despatched Lake to bid the Lord Treasurer send his wife out of town. On this Lady Suffolk retired to her husband's magnificent seat at Audley End, which according to popular rumours had been built with Spanish gold; but she was soon weary of the seclusion of the country, and found her way back to London. When James heard of her return, he flew into a passion, and said that if Suffolk did not send her back again he would have her carted out of town, like the vilest of her sex. Lake, who was present, reported what had happened to Suffolk, and James, having heard that his hasty words had been repeated, rated the Secretary soundly for betraying his secrets. Lake knowing that he was out of favour, as a dependent of the Howards, cast himself at Buckingham's feet, assuring him that he had had nothing to do with bringing Monson to Court, and offering him 15,000*l.* to procure his restoration to favour. His anxiety was the greater as he heard that Carleton had got scent of his threatened disgrace, and had been permitted to come over from Holland to sue for the post which was likely to be vacated by his dismissal from office. Finding that Buckingham turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, he betook himself, as a last resource, to Lady Compton, and the proffered bribe was in all probability transferred to her pocket. At all events she took up his cause; and, on July 10, Buckingham told him that he was ready to listen to his explanations. Three or four weeks later his submissive behaviour had, to all appearance, replaced him in the good graces of the favourite, and Carleton was ordered to return to his post at the Hague.[1]

June. The King hears that Lady Suffolk takes bribes.

Lake endangered.

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., July $\frac{5}{15}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2598, fol. 76. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{May } 28}{\text{June } 7}$, June $\frac{4}{14}$, $\frac{11}{21}$, $\frac{18}{28}$, July $\frac{2}{12}$, $\frac{\text{July } 28}{\text{Aug. } 7}$.

Before Lake was thus taken back into favour his great patron had irremediably fallen from power. On July 18, a secretary of Suffolk's son-in-law, Wallingford, was detected in robbing his master. To save himself, he directly accused the Lord Treasurer himself of bribery, and also of various malpractices in which Lady Suffolk and Sir John Bingley, one of the officials of the Exchequer, had taken part. His assertions must have been supported by evidence of greater weight than his own; for, on the very next day, Suffolk was called upon to resign his staff, and the Treasury was immediately put into commission. The new commissioners, Bacon, Abbot, Andrewes, Naunton, Coke, and Greville, were ordered to examine into the state of the finances, and to report upon the grounds which existed for prosecuting Suffolk.[1]

July 19. Suffolk deprived of the Treasurership.

It was only for a short time that Lake escaped from being involved in the shipwreck of his patron's fortunes. Unfortunately for him, he was already involved in a quarrel with the Cecils, who were at this time deep in the confidence of Buckingham. Lord Roos, the grandson and heir of the Earl of Exeter, was married to the Secretary's daughter early in 1616. He was a dissolute and heartless youth, and both Lady Roos and her mother, Lady Lake, were alike artful and unprincipled women. The marriage had not lasted a year before husband and wife were at open war. The ostensible cause of the quarrel was, like that which had separated Coke and Lady Hatton, a question of money. Roos had mortgaged his estate at Walthamstow to his father-in-law, and Lake proposed that the lands should be altogether made over to his daughter's separate use. If Roos is to be believed, the Secretary took full advantage of his official position to force the bargain upon him. When he was making preparations for his embassy to Madrid, he found that no money could be obtained from the Exchequer, and it was intimated to him, that unless he made the required provision for his wife, he would have to meet the expenses of

1617. Quarrel between Lord and Lady Roos.

[1] Camden's *Annals.*

his mission out of his private purse. Rumour went further, and it was said that he was told that, unless he yielded, Lady Roos would apply for a divorce on the same grounds as those which had caused so much scandal in the case of Lady Essex.[1] Intimidated by the threats held over him, the frightened young man gave way, and before setting out for Madrid he commenced taking the legal steps which would in time lead to the conveyance of the property to his father-in-law.[2]

Before the bargain was completed, the Earl of Exeter stepped in. His consent was in some way or other required, and this he refused to give. Lord Roos duly returned from Spain, but there were no signs that the Walthamstow lands would ever pass into the hands of his wife or her family. The Lakes were furious. At the instigation of her brother Arthur,[3] Lady Roos sent a message to her husband, who was now living apart from her, asking to see him, in order that she might return with him to his house. Upon his arrival at her father's door, he was attacked by Arthur Lake, at the head of a number of his servants, and was hustled back into his coach. Mortified and insulted, he was forced to return alone.[4]

1617. Insult to Lord Roos.

Yet, in spite of the reception which he had met with, not many weeks passed before he was again living with his wife at his grandfather's house at Wimbledon. Whatever may have been the secrets of his married life, it is plain that he was almost driven mad by the united efforts of his wife and her mother. The most horrible charges were kept hanging over his head, and he was told that, if he refused to do as he was bidden, they would be brought publicly against him. At last he could bear it no longer. Five months after his return from Spain, he slipped away from his tormentors, and, with letters of introduction from the Spanish ambassador

His flight to Rome.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, June 4, 1617. Roos to the King, June 1, 1618. *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 61, xcvii. 89.

[2] Feet of Fines. Manor of Walthamstow, Essex. Trin. Term. *R. O.*

[3] So at least Lord Roos firmly believed.

[4] Gerard to Carleton, June 4, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xcii. 62.

in his pocket, made his way to Rome in the character of a convert.[1]

Charges against Lady Exeter.

Next to her husband the person whom Lady Roos hated most was the Countess of Exeter, the young wife of her husband's aged grandfather, by whose influence the Earl had been led to put a stop to the conveyance of the Walthamstow estate. Elated with the success of her secret insinuations against her husband, Lady Roos now began to charge him openly with an incestuous connection with his grandfather's wife. As if this were not enough, she added that Lady Exeter had attempted to poison her, in order to conceal her guilt.[2]

It seems as if Lady Roos was unable to check herself in her career of invention. In her haste to heap charges upon Lady Exeter's head, she added the improbable story that, by threats of disclosing what she knew, she had brought the Countess to acknowledge, in writing, the truth of her guilt in every particular; and she even produced a paper to this effect, which she asserted to be in Lady Exeter's handwriting. To this she added another, bearing the signature of Luke Hatton, a servant of the Countess, in which his mistress was accused of an attempt to poison Sir Thomas Lake as well as his daughter.

Such charges, reiterated as they were by the whole Lake family, could not be allowed to pass unnoticed. Lady Exeter appealed to the King for justice, and it was agreed that the quarrel should be fought out in the Star Chamber. Deposition after deposition was taken, with the uniform result of leaving Lady Roos's case blacker than it was before. It was proved that the confession said to have been written by Lady Exeter, and the paper to which Luke Hatton's signature was attached, were both of them forgeries. It fared still worse with Lady Roos's attempt to add weight to her own unsupported evidence. Her maid, Sarah Swarton, had been induced by her to swear that she had been placed behind the hangings at Wimbledon, to witness the

1618. Star Chamber proceedings.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 3, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcv. 5.

[2] The main facts of the story may be clearly made out from the Abstract of proofs, &c., *S. P. Dom.* cv. 81, 82.

scene in which Lady Exeter acknowledged her guilt. James, who prided himself upon his skill in the detection of imposture, took her down to Wimbledon, and ordered her to stand in the place in which she said that she had been stationed by her mistress. To her discomfiture, it was found that the hangings scarcely reached below her knees, so that it was impossible that she should have remained concealed in such a position.

An attempt to prove that Lady Exeter had written to Lord Roos in unbecoming terms broke down no less completely. It was far from conclusive that one witness said that he had once seen such a letter amongst some old papers in a trunk, and that another said that he had carried about a similar letter in his pocket, and had finally used it to light his pipe. Further investigations into the charge of poisoning only served to prove that there was not one word of truth in the matter.

From these inquiries the character of Sir Thomas Lake did not come out scathless. It appeared that at the time when his daughter was seeking for evidence against her enemy, he had sent for a certain Gwilliams, and had committed him to prison. His own account of the matter was, that he had done so because he had been unable to extract from him information about the flight of Lord Roos. Gwilliams, however, said that Lake had examined him about Lady Exeter's conduct, and that Lady Roos had offered him a bribe to accuse the Countess, and had pressed him to sign a folded paper, the contents of which he had not been permitted to see. It was to his refusal to comply with these demands, that he, naturally enough, attributed his imprisonment. By-and-by, it came out that Hatton also had been imprisoned by Lake, and he too stated that his misfortunes were due to his refusal to join in the accusation against Lady Exeter.

Behaviour of Sir Thomas Lake.

James, who seems to have wished to see fair play, was anxious to obtain Lord Roos's own testimony. He accordingly offered him a pardon for leaving the realm without licence, on condition of his immediate return. Before the offer reached him he had died at Naples. Rumour attributed his death to poison, but such a rumour was too

Death of Lord Roos.

certain to spring up to merit attention in the absence of all corroboration.[1]

It was not till February 13, 1619, that the cause was ready for sentence. James himself came down to pronounce with his own lips the award of the Court. Sir Thomas and Lady Lake, with their daughter, were condemned to imprisonment during pleasure, and to pay fines, which, together with the damages awarded to Lady Exeter, amounted to more than 20,000*l.* Lake's eldest son, who had put himself prominently forward as the accuser of the Countess, was called upon to pay upwards of 1,600*l.*, and Sarah Swarton, if she persisted in denying her imposture, was to be whipped, and branded on the cheek with the letters F.A., as a false accuser, after which she was to be sent back to prison for the remainder of her life.

1619. The sentence.

Of the guilt of Lady Roos and her maid there could be no doubt whatever. Nor was it possible to acquit the Secretary himself of blame. Whatever may have been the real history of the imprisonment of Gwilliams and Hatton, he had certainly lent his name to the circulation of his daughter's libels, and that too in spite of a warning from the King, that he would do better to use his influence to induce her to withdraw them.[2]

How far was it just?

It is more difficult to say what was the precise guilt of Lady Lake. In giving sentence, the King compared her to the serpent in Paradise, whilst he ascribed the part of Eve to her daughter, and that of Adam to her husband. But the general opinion of the day threw the chief blame upon the younger lady; and not only did Lady Lake herself protest in the strongest possible manner that she was guiltless of the subornation of witnesses, or of the forgery itself, but whatever evidence has reached us favours the theory that she was herself deceived by her artful daughter.[3] The most probable explanation is, that

[1] Roos to the King, June 1. *S. P. Dom.* xcvii. 89. Lorkin to Puckering, July 14, 1618, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 414.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering, Feb. 16, 1619, Goodman's *Court of King James*, ii. 176.

[3] From the deposition of Mary Lake (*S. P. Dom.* cv. 82), it appears

at the time of her quarrel with her husband, Lady Roos's prurient imagination brought before her mind the chief incidents of the Essex divorce, and that she wove them into a story which imposed upon her mother, and which was intended to impose upon the rest of the world.[1]

Confessions of the condemned persons.

Almost immediately after the sentence had been passed, it was intimated to the prisoners that they might at any time obtain pardon by acknowledging the justice of their condemnation. Sarah Swarton was the first to give way. The prospect of the pillory and the whipping was too much for her. She confessed her own guilt, throwing the whole blame upon Lady Roos, and exonerating as much as possible Sir Thomas and Lady Lake. Her punishment was accordingly remitted, and, at the end of a few months, she was set at liberty.[2] On June 9, Lady Roos confessed, and was allowed to leave her prison. Not long afterwards her father was released, and after some delay made his submission in due form. His wife was less yielding, and it was only after more than two years' hesitation that she could be brought to make even a formal acknowledgment that she had been in any way in fault.[3] The whole fine was not exacted, but Lake had to pay 10,200*l.* into the Exchequer in addition to the damages to Lady Exeter.

Immediately after the sentence had been delivered the Secretary was called upon to resign his office. His successor was Sir George Calvert, an industrious, modest man, who might

that when on one occasion Lady Lake visited her daughter, Lady Roos pretended to be ill and took to her bed. This must have been to make her mother believe the story of the poisoning which she had just invented. Lady Lake's protestation of her innocence will be found in a letter to Lady Exeter in Goodman's *Court of King James*, ii. 196.

[1] The poison Lady Roos said she had taken was roseacre, and the ground upon which she threatened her husband with a divorce was precisely the same as that with which Essex was got rid of.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 27, July 31, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cv. 143, cix. 161, *Council Register*, June 27, 1619.

[3] Submission of Lady Roos, June 19. Chamberlain to Carleton, July 15, 31. Submission of Sir T. Lake, Jan. 28, 1620; Submission of Lady Lake, May 2, 1621, *S. P. Dom.* cix. 99, 133, 161; cxii. 43; cxxi. 5.

be trusted, like Naunton, to do his work silently and well, and who, in former times had been one of Salisbury's secretaries. His opinions fitted him to be the channel of communications which could not safely be entrusted to one who looked with extreme favour upon the Continental Protestants; for though he was anything but a thoroughgoing partisan of the Spanish monarchy, yet he had no sympathy whatever with those who thought that a war with Spain was for its own sake desirable.

Calvert succeeds Lake as Secretary.

Both Lake and Suffolk had woven the net in which their own feet were entangled. It was more difficult to get rid of Suffolk's son-in-law, the Master of the Wards. Wallingford's character was without a stain. When, at the time of the Overbury murder, Mrs. Turner was flinging out the fiercest charges against everyone who was connected with the house of Howard, she paused at the name of Wallingford. "If ever there was a religious man," she said, "it was he."

1618. Dismissal of Wallingford.

Wallingford's one unpardonable fault was the part which he had taken in the introduction of young Monson to Court. In the war of lampoons which was waged between the two factions into which the Court was divided, Lady Wallingford had taken an active part, and she had not spared her sister, Lady Salisbury,[1] who, if report was to be credited, had rewarded the guilty passion of Buckingham with her favours, and who had now joined her foolish husband and her sprightly paramour in their attack upon her own relations. It was not difficult to shock James with the stories which were told him of Lady Wallingford's biting tongue. Sending for the Master of the Wards, he told him that he did not wish to be any longer served by the husband of such a wife. At first Wallingford refused to give way, and courted inquiry into his conduct.[2] It was not without difficulty that he was at last induced, in spite of his wife's opposition, to resign his office, upon a promise of compensation for his loss.[3]

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 27, Dec. 19, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcvi. 87.

[2] Lorkin to Puckering, Oct. 20, 1618, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 418.

[3] Digby to Buckingham, Dec. 1, 1618, *S. P. Spain.*

It was impossible that the official changes should stop here. Serious attention was now at last being paid to the state of the finances. Amongst those who raised their voices the loudest on the side of economy, Bacon was always to be found. Immediately after his restoration to favour on the King's return from Scotland in 1617, he had drawn James's attention once more to the condition of the Exchequer.[1] Yet, bad as things seemed to be, there were not wanting signs that the worst was past. For the first time since James's accession it was possible to prepare an estimate in which the regular and ordinary expenses of the Crown would be met by the revenue, and though, when the irregular expenditure for which no provision had been made came to be added to the amount, there would probably be a deficit of eighty or a hundred thousand pounds, even this was an immense step in advance. The improvement was owing in part to the increased economy of the King, but still more to the marvellous elasticity of the revenue—an elasticity which was the more satisfactory as it was produced not by the imposition of new taxes, but by the increasing prosperity of the country, and by the rapid growth of trade. Spaniards who had seen England complained bitterly that the wealth to which the greatness of Lisbon and Seville had been owing was now flowing into the Thames.[2] The receipt-books of the Exchequer told a similar tale. The great customs, which at James's accession had produced less than 86,000*l.*, were now leased for 140,000*l.* The wine duties had risen from 4,400*l.* to 15,900*l.*, and all this without laying a single additional penny upon the consumer.

1617. State of the finances.

Yet, though the prospect was more hopeful than it had been, the immediate difficulties were by no means light. The actual deficit for the past year had reached 150,000*l.* The deficit for the ensuing year would probably reach 100,000*l.* The money obtained by the sale of the cautionary

The City loan.

[1] Memorial in Bacon's *Letters and Life*, vi. 254.

[2] "Es cierto que desde las pazes acà ha crecido el comercio de solo Londres mas de treinta millones," *i.e.* by 7,500,000*l.* Gondomar to Ciriza, Nov. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1619, *Simancas MSS.* 2599, fol. 206.

towns had all been spent, and a loan of 100,000*l.* which the city of London had, not without difficulty, been induced to advance in the spring, had also been swallowed up. The actual condition of the Exchequer was well represented by a caricature which appeared about this time in Holland, in which James was portrayed with his pockets turned inside out, and which bore the sarcastic inscription :—"Have you any more towns to sell?"[1]

Difficulty of its collection.

If it had been difficult to persuade the City authorities to promise a loan, the collection of the money had been still more difficult. It had been left to the Government to compel individual citizens to pay their quota, and not a few resisted the demand. One man, named Robinson, utterly denied that he was bound to lend his money against his will. The Council could do nothing with him, and sent him down to the King, who had already crossed the border, on his return from Scotland. Robinson was unlucky enough to find James in a bad humour, as he had expected to find at Carlisle money with which to pay the daily expenses of his journey; and it was not till he had advanced thirty miles beyond that city that he met the treasury escort, carefully guarding a cart, in which was a bag containing no more than 400*l.* Lake was directed to expostulate with the officials in London upon the smallness of the sum; but he was met with the pertinent question :—"If your wants are so great now what will they be after your return?" Nettled by a question to which it was impossible to reply, James visited his displeasure upon Robinson, and, finding him still obstinate, ordered him to follow his train on foot to London.[2] We are not told whether the sturdy citizen continued resolute in face of the unusual exercise thus suddenly required of him in the month of August.

The recollection of the examination of the cart on the Cumberland road had, no doubt, as much effect upon James as Bacon's more serious admonitions. His debts now amounted

[1] Lovelace to Carleton, March 11, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 113.

[2] Lake to Winwood, Aug. 16. Winwood to Lake, Aug. 20, 1617. *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 25, 31.

to 726,000*l.*,[1] and unless reforms were speedily effected, they would soon be altogether beyond his control. Accordingly he wrote to the Council, telling them that he had determined to abate all superfluous expenses, and to dismiss all unnecessary officers. It was for them to tell him how this was to be accomplished. They might cut and carve at their pleasure. He did not want an answer in writing. What he asked for was immediate action.[2]

Proposed retrenchments.

The councillors were delighted with the letter. They determined to strike whilst the iron was hot. Officials were summoned from all quarters, and were directed to make reports on the branches of the expenditure with which they were practically acquainted. Pensions were suspended and curtailed, and there seemed to be at last a chance that James would be able to pay his way.

Yet with all this zeal, it may be doubted whether the efforts of the Council would have been crowned with success if it had not been for the assistance which they received from a new class of officials who were now rising into the places hitherto occupied either by great nobles or by great statesmen. These men were men of business, and they were nothing more. Accustomed to dependence from their first entry upon public life, they cared little or nothing for politics, and they made it the main object of their activity to promote the interests of the King. The increasing subserviency of the Privy Councillors was in itself an evil of no light importance. But there can be no doubt that in matters of administrative detail, James was far better served at the end of his reign than he had been at the beginning.

The new officials.

Of the new men the foremost was undoubtedly Lionel Cranfield. He had begun life as a London apprentice. With his handsome face and ready wit, he had won the affections of his master's daughter, and had started in trade upon his own account with the 800*l.* which he received as her marriage portion. Not long afterwards the City was

Lionel Cranfield.

[1] The Council to the King, Sept. 27, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 99.

[2] The King to the Council, Nov. 21, 1617, *Bacon's Works*, ed. 1778, iii 354.

agitated by a dispute concerning the proper manner of raising the money required for the establishment of its colony at Londonderry. The Court of Aldermen proposed that each of the City companies should take upon themselves an equal share of the expense. Naturally enough, the smaller and poorer societies objected to the scheme as essentially unfair. The question was referred to the Privy Council, and Cranfield was selected as the spokesman of the Mercer's Company, of which he was a member. He had a good cause, and he was sure to make the most of it. When he came away, he had not only been successful in carrying his point, but he had left upon all who heard him a deep impression of his ability.

He comes under the notice of the King.

When Cranfield is next heard of, he had taken part, together with several other merchants, in a contract for the purchase of a large quantity of land, which the King had been obliged, by his necessities, to sell. One day, as the contractors were consulting on the best means of making a profit by their bargain, Cranfield told them that he knew that Northampton, who was at that time at the height of his influence, wanted to purchase a small portion of the land ; and he advised them, if they wished to consult their own interests, to make him a present of it. It is probable enough, that in this politic proposal he may have given good advice to his companions. It is certain that he could not have done better for himself. Northampton, who had not forgotten his appearance before the Council, introduced him to the King as a young man of promise. From that moment his fortune was made. He was never without constant employment. After Salisbury's death, financial knowledge was rare at the Council table, and Cranfield's services were invaluable. He was knighted by James in 1615, and was appointed Surveyor-General of the Customs. In such an occupation he displayed both zeal and honesty. His City experience stood him in good stead in enabling him to detect the malpractices of the officials.[1] He had a thorough knowledge of business, and an unwavering determination not to allow the King to be cheated. Trades-

[1] Goodman's *Court of King James*, i. 296.

men, who had made a handsome profit, and more than a handsome profit, out of the earls and barons with whom they had previously had to do, were taken aback when they were called upon to deliver their accounts to a man who knew to a farthing what was the wholesale price of a yard of silk, and who was as deeply versed as they were in the little mysteries of the art by which a short bill might be made to wear the appearance of a long one. But here the praise due to him must stop. He was a careful and economical administrator; but he was nothing more. Of general politics he knew nothing, and on the higher question of statesmanship there was neither good nor evil to be expected from him.

In carrying out the proposed reforms, the foremost place was occupied by Cranfield. He had a hard fight to put down the abuses which were swarming about him. The Household was one mass of peculation and extravagance; and from the officers, whose perquisites were threatened, he was sure to meet with the most unrelenting opposition. Yet, in spite of all that they could do, he succeeded in effecting an annual saving of no less than 23,000*l.*

1618. Reforms in the Household.

From the Household, Cranfield turned his attention to the Wardrobe. The mastership was in the hands of Hay, and it may well have seemed to be a hopeless task to introduce economy into an office presided over by such a man. Yet it was difficult to get rid of him. He was a Privy Councillor, and high in favour with the King. There was no likelihood that a quarrel would spring up between him and Buckingham. He cared nothing for political influence, and the amiability of his temper was such that he never quarrelled with anyone in his life. Though he had been admitted to the King's confidence when Buckingham was a child, he had never taken the slightest umbrage at the sudden rise of the new favourite.

The Wardrobe.

Only a few months had passed since the fascination of his manners had secured him the love of Lucy Percy, the sparkling and attractive daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. In the course of his wooing he had invited her to be present at one of those splendid entertain-

1617. Hay's courtship.

ments which have given such a questionable celebrity to his name. Doubtless there was no delicacy which art or nature could provide wanting to tempt the palates of his guests. It is not unlikely that on this occasion he may have displayed that particular form of extravagance by which he obtained considerable notoriety amongst his contemporaries. The invention of the double supper was peculiarly his own. When he wished to show more than ordinary hospitality, the guests were invited to take their seats at a table covered with a profusion of the most exquisite cold dishes. But before they had time to fill their plates, the servants hurried in and, snatching the food from before their faces, as if it had been unworthy of their acceptance, replaced it by an array of hot dishes. It is seldom that a man who is guilty of such extravagance as this is not a fool. Yet Hay, though he was right in not pressing into offices which would have called for the exercise of the higher intellectual powers, had all those qualities which fit their owner to shine in society.

On this evening the guests may have been well satisfied with their entertainment, but the master of the house was deeply disappointed. Lucy Percy, for whose sake the festivities had been arranged, did not make her appearance; and as, in a few days, Hay would be obliged to attend the King on his journey to Scotland, he had lost his chance of seeing her for many months. It was not long before he learned the cause of the lady's absence. She had accompanied her sister, Lady Sidney, to visit her father in the Tower. To the pride of the old English nobility, Northumberland joined a special contempt for the King's Scottish courtiers, which he perhaps derived from the recollections of the old border feuds, in which his ancestors had taken so conspicuous a part. He had, therefore, set his face against the marriage. As soon as his daughter rose to leave him, he turned to Lady Sidney, and told her to send him one of her sister's servants, as he should be glad of Lucy's company a little longer. "I am a Percy," he said, by way of explanation, "and I am not fond of Scotch jigs."[1] Before long,

Difficulties in his way.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 22, March 8, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 79, 105.

however, he learned that it was not easy to keep out love by bolts and bars. He was indiscreet enough to allow his daughter to fall in Lady Somerset's way, from whom she received every encouragement to stand out against her father. Finding his admonitions thrown away, he at last allowed his daughter to return to her mother at Sion House, first taking care to inform her that, if she married Hay, she must not expect a portion. Perhaps he thought that this would be enough to cool the ardour of a Scotchman. If so, he was disappointed. Hay was far too careless of money to be stopped by an obstacle of such a nature.

His marriage.

Hay's courtship was characteristic of the man. He was as ardent in love as in all other pursuits; and as soon as he returned to England he took a house close to Sion House, so as to be able to spend day after day in the society of his betrothed. But though Lady Northumberland was very well pleased with the attentions of her future son-in-law, she altogether declined to allow him to take his meals in her house. The humble fare, she said, which was good enough for the Percys, was not sufficiently refined for him. When, therefore, the hour arrived at which the household was summoned to dinner or supper, the disconsolate lover was driven out of the house, with orders not to return till the meal was over.[1] After a few months this inconvenient arrangement came to an end. The marriage was solemnised on November 6, in the presence of the King and of a brilliant assembly of courtiers.

1618. He resigns the Wardrobe.

It was evident that such a man was ill-placed in the Mastership of the Wardrobe, an office in which economy was imperatively demanded. Yet when it was first proposed to Hay to resign he refused to do so, and it was only with difficulty that he was finally induced to retire upon receiving a compensation of 20,000*l.*,[2] to which, if report is to be trusted, was added 10,000*l.* paid, accord-

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Aug. 9, 1617, *S. P. Dom.*

[2] Contarini to the Doge, $\frac{\text{July } 23}{\text{Aug. } 2}$, 1618, *Venice MSS.* List of Payments, *S. P. Dom.* cxvi. 122.

ing to the custom of the time, by Cranfield,[1] who was nominated as his successor.[2] It was not long before the savings which were realised under the management of the new Master showed that the 20,000*l.* had been profitably spent. Hay was further consoled by the higher title of Viscount Doncaster.

Of still greater importance was an investigation, which was at last commenced in earnest, into the condition of the navy. For this purpose a commission was appointed, of which Cranfield was a member, but in which, overburthened as he was with other business, the chief part of the labour fell upon Sir John Coke, a man by no means deficient in administrative capacity, though without any pretensions to statesmanship. The appointment of this commission was a sore blow to Nottingham. The Lord High Admiral had succeeded in setting aside the report of the commission of 1608, and in preventing altogether the appointment of a fresh commission in 1613. But it was impossible for him to resist inquiry any longer. The expenses of the navy were growing with unexampled rapidity, and as its expenses increased, its efficiency declined.

The Navy Commission.

After a full investigation, the commissioners sent in their report. Of the forty-three vessels of which the navy was nominally composed, nearly half were utterly unserviceable, and were with difficulty kept from sinking by incessant repairs, without the slightest prospect that they would ever again be fit for sea. So far from its being a matter of surprise that so much money had been spent, the only wonder was that far more had not been swallowed up in the bottomless gulf of the Admiralty administration. The whole department was utterly without organization. It sometimes happened that extensive works were taken in hand at the dockyards, and that after large bodies of labourers had been engaged, it was discovered that the proper officers had either

Report of the Commissioners.

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{Aug. 27,}}{\text{Sept. 6,}}$ 1618.

[2] Appointment of Cranfield, Sept. 12, 1618, *Patent Rolls*, 16 Jac. I., Part 21.

neglected to provide the necessary materials, or had been left by their superiors without the money with which to purchase them. Everything else was in equal disorder. Unsound timber had been paid for as if it had been in the best condition. Far higher prices had been given for stores than any private purchaser would have cared to pay. Incorrect entries in the books were of frequent occurrence. Occasionally when ships had been ordered round to Deptford for repairs, it was only after the expense of moving them had been incurred that it was discovered that they were so rotten that it was not worth while to spend any more money upon them. The root of the evil lay in the appointment of officers at high salaries, who did little or nothing, whilst the inferior officers who did the work were left either to plunder the Crown or to starve. In fact, this part of the report only expresed in sober and official language what was perfectly well known to everyone who lived near the dockyards. Long afterwards Bishop Goodman used to tell how a friend with whom he was walking at Chatham drew his attention to the stately mansions which had sprung up like mushrooms round the yard. "All these goodly houses," he said, "are built of chips." The explanation of the riddle was that the chips were considered to be the perquisite of the officials.[1]

Proposals for the increase of the Navy.

To their report the commissioners appended a calculation that for some years past the average annual expenditure on the navy had been no less than 53,000*l.* They added that they were themselves ready to meet all necessary expenses, and to build ten new ships within the next five years without exceeding 30,000*l.* a-year. The navy would then consist of thirty large vessels, besides a few smaller craft. It is true that the number of vessels left by Elizabeth had been forty-two. But the tonnage of the fleet of 1603 had been only 14,060, whilst 17,110 tons would be the measurement of that promised by the commissioners.[2] Nor were these mere words, to be forgotten as soon as

[1] Goodman's *Court of King James*, i. 53.

[2] Appointment of the Commission, June 23, 1618, *Patent Rolls*, 16 Jac. I., Part 1. Report of the Commissioners, and other papers, *S. P.*

the momentary purpose of displacing Nottingham was accomplished; for when the five years came to an end, it was found that all the promises of the commissioners had been fulfilled.

After these exposures it was impossible for anyone who bore the name of Howard to remain longer at the Admiralty.

Negotiation with Nottingham.

Already at the beginning of the year it had been proposed to Buckingham that he should take the place of the old man whose administration had been so disastrous. At that time he hung back and pleaded his youth and inexperience.[1] But after the report of the Commissioners it was evident that a change was necessary, and he gave way before the flattering solicitations of those who told him that his influence with the King would be the best guarantee for the good administration of the navy. At first it was arranged that he was merely to have the reversion of the post. But it was soon found that this would hardly meet the necessities of the case. The reforms which the Commissioners had suggested called for immediate action, and the old Admiral naturally resented a proposal that the commission by which his official conduct had been condemned should be reappointed as a permanent body, with the scarcely concealed object of taking the administration of the dockyards out of his hands.[2] A middle course was accordingly hit upon. Buckingham was to be co-admiral with Nottingham, leaving to the old sailor the dignity of the office, whilst performing himself its functions in person or by deputy. This arrangement, however, was never carried into effect. Nottingham had at last the good sense to resign a post for which he was altogether unqualified. A pension of 1,000*l.* a year was assigned him by the King, and Buckingham, who added a sum

Dom. c. 2; ci. 2, 3. The number of vessels is taken from the last-quoted document, which seems to give the final determination of the Commissioners.

[1] Harwood to Carleton, Jan. 8, 1618, *S. P. Dom.* xcv. 8. The King's Speech in opening the Parliament of 1621.

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Oct. $\frac{9}{19}$, Nov. $\frac{6}{16}$, 1618.

of 3,000*l.* as an additional compensation to his predecessor, became Lord High Admiral of England.[1]

Buckingham Lord High Admiral.

The immediate result of Buckingham's instalment in office was the reappointment of the Navy Commission as a permanent board.[2] Buckingham was as unlikely as Nottingham had been to trouble himself with details about dockyard expenditure. But whilst Nottingham would neither do the work himself, nor allow anyone else to do it for him, Buckingham had not the slightest objection to letting other people toil as hard as they pleased, provided that he might himself enjoy the credit of their labours.

1619. Growing influence of Buckingham.

Buckingham was every day acquiring a firmer hold upon the mind of James. A year had not passed since the introduction of Monson to Court before he saw all his rivals at his feet. With the single exception of Yelverton, not a Howard, or a dependent of the Howards, remained in office. Buckingham was no longer the mere favourite of the King. He was the all-powerful minister, reigning unchecked in solitary grandeur.

Administrative reforms.

Yet, however much the change is to be attributed to Court intrigue, it must not be forgotten that it was something more. It was a blow struck at the claim to serve the State on the ground of family connexion. It was an attempt to secure efficiency of administration by personal selection. And though the evil which would accompany a change made in such a way was likely to outweigh the good which it brought, there is no doubt that from this time the King was better and more economically served than he had ever been before. At Michaelmas, 1617, it was thought a great thing that there was likely to be a balance between the ordinary revenue and the ordinary expenditure. At Michaelmas, 1618, the new Commissioners of the Treasury looked forward to a surplus of 45,000*l.*, with which to meet unforeseen

[1] Commission to Buckingham, Jan. 28, 1619, *Patent Rolls*, 16 Jac. I., Part 17. Rushworth, i. 306, 379. Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 6, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cv. 83.

[2] Commission to Cranfield and others, Feb. 12, 1619, *Patent Rolls*, 19 Jac. I., Part 3.

expenses. Meanwhile, the Household, the Treasury, the Wardrobe, and the Admiralty had been subjected to sweeping and beneficial reforms. Everywhere retrenchment had been carried out under the influence of and with the co-operation of Buckingham. It is no wonder that the King learned to place implicit confidence in his youthful favourite, and to fancy that he had at last discovered that of which he had been in search during the whole of his life—the art of being well served, without taking any trouble about the matter himself.

When, therefore, those who were jealous of Buckingham's sudden rise remonstrated against the almost royal power which had been placed in his hands, they only wasted their words. It had been expected that, upon his promotion to the Admiralty he would at least have resigned the Mastership of the Horse, and some of those who had calculated their chances of succeeding to the vacancy hinted pretty intelligibly to the King what their opinion was. James contented himself with composing some Latin couplets to the effect that, as in the classical mythology Neptune, who presided over the sea, was also celebrated for his horses, it was unreasonable to object to the continued supervision of the new Admiral over the royal stables.[1]

Lady Compton raised to the peerage.

On one point alone James consented to make some concession to the opinion of his courtiers. Buckingham himself, arrogant as he was, and ready to take offence at the slightest disrespect shown to himself, was still distinguished by the kindly and forgiving disposition which, at his first appearance at court, had won all hearts. But his greedy and unprincipled mother was altogether unbearable. It was perhaps at this time that the story sprung up that Gondomar had written home to say that he had more hope

[1] "Buckinghamus, Io! maris est præfectus, et idem
Qui dominatur equis, nunc dominatur aquis.
Atque inter Superos liquidas qui temperat undas
Neptunus, celeres et moderatur equos.
Ne jam displiceat cuiquam geminata potestas
Exemplum Superis cum placuisse vident."

Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Nov. $\frac{20}{30}$ 1618.

than ever of the conversion of England, since he found that there were more prayers and oblations offered to the mother than to the son.[1] In the preceding autumn she had been created Countess of Buckingham, on which occasion she had caused considerable amusement by her refusal to share her honours with the husband whom she despised. It is probable that her new dignity made her more offensive than ever, as James requested her to keep away from Court, and told her that her meddling with state affairs could only be injurious to the prospects of her son.[2]

A few days before Nottingham's removal from office,[3] James at last made up his mind to take proceedings in the Star Chamber against the late Lord Treasurer. He had always been friendly to Suffolk, and he would gladly have spared him the pain of the exposure; but it was necessary, as he told those who pleaded in his behalf, to prove to the world that he had not taken the staff away without reason.[4] An information was accordingly filed against him, in which the Countess and Sir John Bingley were included. The trial dragged its slow length along, and it was not till October, 1619, that the case was ready for a hearing.

Star Chamber proceedings against Suffolk.

According to the charge brought against him, the Treasurer had paid away money without demanding proper accounts from those who received it; he had been careless or corrupt in allowing the King to be cheated in a bargain relating to the Yorkshire alum-works; he had kept for some time in his own hands a sum which ought to have been paid immediately into the Exchequer; and he had taken bribes for doing that which should have been done as a mere matter of duty.[5] The evidence before us is hardly sufficient to enable

The case against him;

[1] Wilson in *Kennet*, ii. 728.

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Nov. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1618. Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 6, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cv. 83.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 16, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cv. 41.

[4] E. H. [*i.e.* Elizabeth Howard, Lady Howard of Walden] to the King, *Cabala*, 234.

[5] The fullest account of the trial is in Cæsar's notes, *Add. MSS.* 12,497, fol. 69–74, 77–92. Compare the Answer of the Earl of Suffolk, and the State of the Proceedings, *S. P. Dom.* cxi. 17, 18.

us to say how far these charges were brought home to him. He may have been wilfully corrupt ; more probably he was only lax in his interpretation of official rules ; but whatever may have been the extent of Suffolk's own guilt, there can be no doubt as to his wife's criminality. The counsel employed by her must have been hard put to it before they allowed themselves to startle the ears of the judges with the trash which they imported into the defence. They actually urged on her behalf, that she could not have been guilty of extortion, as she had only taken bribes in her capacity of wife of the Earl of Suffolk, and not in her capacity of wife of the Lord Treasurer. After this incomprehensible argument, the lawyer to whom she had entrusted her cause proceeded to quote from the civil law a text to the effect that judges might, without impropriety, receive *xenia*, or free gifts. Bacon, taking up the word in the sense of new year's gifts, which it had gradually acquired, said, with a smile, that new year's gifts could not be given all the year round. Unfortunate as the lawyers had been in their general argument, they were still more unlucky in their attempts to rebut particular charges. One of the strongest pieces of evidence against the defendants was a direct statement made by Lord Ridgway, that, during the time that he had been Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, he had never been able to obtain the money needed for the public service unless his demand was accompanied by a bribe to Suffolk. Suffolk denied having ever received anything from Ridgway, except a gold cup which had been sent him as a new year's gift ; and the probability is that the money had found its way into the pockets of the Countess, as her counsel could find nothing better to say on her behalf than that Lord Ridgway was a noble gentleman, who might say or swear what he pleased. Bacon, who looked with special horror upon any attempt to intercept the supplies needed in Ireland, and who was of opinion, as he expressed it, that 'he that did draw or milk treasure from Ireland, did not milk money, but blood,'[1] thought that the farce had gone on long enough, and stopped

and against Lady Suffolk.

[1] Bacon to Buckingham, Oct. 27, 1619, *Letters and Life*, vii. 53.

the speaker by telling him that it was at all events not the part of a nobleman to tell lies.[1]

As soon as the pleadings came to an end, the Court proceeded to judgment. Coke, who never knew what moderation was, voted for a fine of 100,000*l.* on the Earl, and of 5,000*l.* on Bingley. Against such an outrageous sentence, the milder Hobart raised his protest, and succeeded in carrying with him the majority of the Court. The fines actually imposed were 30,000*l.* on Suffolk, and 2,000*l.* on Bingley. All the three defendants were also sentenced to imprisonment during the King's pleasure.

The sentence.

Neither Suffolk nor his Countess remained long in the Tower; after ten days' imprisonment, both were set at liberty.[2] They at once applied to Buckingham for his good word with the King for the remission of their fine, and Buckingham, who was never backward in lending a helping hand to a fallen enemy, if he found him ready to acknowledge his supremacy, promised to assist him. The application would probably have been immediately successful if the overcautious Earl had been willing to trust to it entirely. When, however, the officials of the Exchequer went to his great house at Audley End, they were told, in answer to their inquiries for property upon which to raise the fine, that the house had been stripped of its furniture, and the estate itself conveyed to trustees. Indignant at the trick, James threatened Suffolk with a fresh prosecution, and ordered him to require his sons to resign their places at Court.[3] It was only after repeated supplications for forgiveness that James relented and agreed to remit his fine, with the exception of 7,000*l.* which he wanted in order to enable him to pay Lord Haddington's debts.[4]

Its gradual relaxation.

[1] Locke to Carleton, Nov. 6, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cxi. 8.

[2] Naunton to Carleton, Dec. 3, 1619, *S. P. Holland.*

[3] Goring to Buckingham, Nov. 16, Dec. 13, 1619, *Harl. MSS.* 1580, fol. 411. Suffolk to the King, *Cabala*, 334. Edmondes to Carleton, Jan. 25, 1620, *S. P. Dom.* cxii. 35.

[4] Chamberlain to Carleton, July 27. Woodford to Nethersole, Aug. 3, 1620, *S. P. Dom.* cxvi. 48, 59. It appears from the receipt books of the

If Buckingham had raised himself in James's favour by the reforms to which he had lent his countenance, he had gained no credit with the nation. It was well enough known that Suffolk and Lake differed from other officials mainly in having been found out. A blow had indeed been struck at the peculation which directly menaced the economy and regularity of the service of the Crown, and there would probably be more regard paid in future to the King's interests. But as no attempt had been made to distinguish between lawful and unlawful payments, the root of the evil had remained untouched. As long as Buckingham occupied the position which he did, any such step was absolutely impossible. It was not exactly that offices were set up for sale to the highest bidder; whenever a vacancy occurred in a post of any importance, an attempt was almost invariably made to select, if not the fittest person amongst the candidates, at least the person who appeared to James and his favourite to be the fittest. It not unfrequently happened that a rich man who offered a large bribe was rejected, and a poor man who offered a small bribe, or no bribe at all, was chosen. It was thus that Bennett's attempt to seat himself in Chancery as Ellesmere's successor,[1] and Ley's attempt to become Attorney-General after Bacon's promotion, had failed.[2] Upon Winwood's death, Lord Houghton had offered 10,000*l.* for the Secretaryship, and Houghton was the one amongst the candidates who had no chance whatever.[3] Of mean, grasping avarice Buckingham never showed a trace; but he allowed it to be understood that whoever expected promotion on any grounds must give him something for his trouble in recommending him. Nor did the mischief end here; around the great man grew up a swarm of parasites, who, like Endymion Porter, amassed wealth as brokers of their patron's favours. That all things were venal

Bribery at Court.

Exchequer that only 1,397*l.* was raised upon Suffolk's lands, whilst 2,000*l.* was paid out to Haddington. Docquet, Sept. 21, 1620, *S. P. Dom.* The remainder of the transaction may have been managed privately.

[1] Gerard to Carleton, March 20, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xc. 135.

[2] Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, 56.

[3] Sherburn to Carleton, Nov. 7, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xciv. 11.

at the Court of James, was soon accepted as a truism from the Land's End to the Cheviots.

Favouritism.

Nor was this the worst. Though to pay a sum of money to a favourite for his patronage, is a degradation to which no man of sensitive conscience will stoop, men of worth and ability might have been found to submit to the imposition, if they could have preserved their independence after they had once been raised to power. That which more than anything else drove the talent of the rising generation into opposition, was the persuasion that no man who served the Crown could ever be anything more than a tool of Buckingham. He must not merely be prepared to conform at any moment to the sudden caprices of the youthful upstart; he must publish his subservience to the world, and must appear in public with the gilded badge of slavery upon him. By such a system, James might perhaps find himself served by excellent clerks, but he would have no statesmen to consult.

Example of Cranfield.

No better example can be found of the dangers to which a courtier's life was exposed than that furnished by the experience of Cranfield. With the exception of Bacon, no man in England had rendered greater services to the Crown. Nor had those services been forgotten. In September, 1618, he had been appointed Master of the Wardrobe; in the January following, he was chosen to succeed Wallingford, as Master of the Wards.[1] Next month his name appeared first among the Commissioners of the Navy.[2] He was looking forward to a seat in the Privy Council, and no one could deny that his promotion would be conducive to the interests of the King. On April 24, he was in full expectation of being summoned on the following day to take his seat at the Board. The summons did not arrive. Suddenly a cloud had come over his prospects, which nothing but an act of baseness could remove.

As usual, Buckingham's mother was at the bottom of the mischief. The success which had attended her attempt to

[1] Appointment to Cranfield, Jan. 15, *Patent Rolls*, 16 Jac. I., Part 21.

[2] Commission to Cranfield and others, Feb. 12, *Patent Rolls*, 16 Jac. I., Part 3.

procure a wife for Sir John Villiers had not been lost upon the veteran schemer. What was the use of having a son in high favour at Court, if he could not find a rich husband for all the portionless young girls amongst his relations? There were men enough coming to him every day to ask for promotion. Let them be told that it was an indispensable qualification for office to marry a kinswoman of the House of Villiers.

To this comfortable family arrangement James made no difficulty in lending his name, and Cranfield was selected as the man upon whom the experiment was first to be tried. He was now a widower, and with his abilities, and with the favour of Buckingham, he was sure of promotion, and of sufficient wealth to make him a desirable husband. It was therefore intimated to him, that if he expected any further advancement, he must marry Lady Buckingham's cousin, Anne Brett, whose fortune consisted in her handsome face and her high kindred.[1] There was, however, an obstacle in the way; Cranfield had been paying his addresses to Lady Howard of Effingham, the widow of Nottingham's eldest son.[2] The lady cannot have been young, but she would have been a splendid match for the City merchant; and whether it was love or ambition which tempted him, Cranfield was loth to take a wife at another man's bidding. For some months he struggled hard for freedom; but at last he gave way, and before the end of the year it was known that he had become a member of the Privy Council, and the accepted lover of Anne Brett.[3]

His marriage.

Bad as this system was, yet, as far as the higher offices were concerned, it was not without a check. It would be ruinous to

[1] "Cranfield's favour at Court is now almost as little as before it was great, and will hardly come from this low ebb to a high flood, until he will be content to marry a handsome young waiting woman, who hath little money but good friends." Brent to Carleton, May 29, *S. P. Dom.* cix. 59.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 6, *S. P. Dom.* cv. 83. Buckingham may, perhaps, have looked upon a marriage with the widow of a Howard as a defection from his standard.

[3] Nethersole to Carleton, Feb. 6, *S. P. Dom.* cxii. 20. For some reason or other, the marriage did not take place till Jan. 11, 1621.

entrust the Exchequer to men who were ignorant of the rudiments of finance, or to place upon the Bench a lawyer who had never held a brief. But there was no limit, excepting that of good feeling and propriety, imposed upon the creation of titles of honour. Everybody with a certain amount of money thought himself good enough to be a baron or an earl; and James, forgetting that, by flooding an hereditary house with new creations, he would make two enemies for every friend that he gained, fancied that the more barons and earls he created, the greater would be his influence in the House of Lords. At all events, he would find in the purses of these ambitious men the means of replenishing his own, and of rewarding the needy courtiers who complained that since the fashion of economy had been set, he had nothing left to give away. Just as, after Salisbury's attempt to introduce order into the finances, courtiers had asked for a recusant to squeeze, instead of petitioning for a grant of lands or of money, so now that the negotiations for the Spanish marriage had made it more necessary to be careful of the feelings of the Catholics, the demand for a recusant was superseded by the demand for a baron.[1] The person whose request was granted immediately looked about for some one who was ready to pay him the sum which he chose to ask. As a matter of course, unless he had been singularly unfortunate in his selection, the nomination was accepted, and a new member was added to the peerage.

Sale of honours.

A good example of the way in which James disposed of the

[1] It may be as well to point out in this case that a mistake is often made by otherwise well-informed writers in the inference which they draw from the fact that a baronet has had his creation money returned to him. An author sometimes has, or thinks he has, ground for supposing that some person was engaged in a Court intrigue. He knows that he became a baronet about the time, and finds in the Exchequer books that his money was repaid. This is enough. The man, it is taken for granted, must have been in unusually high favour, and his connection with the intrigue in question is then almost taken for granted. A little further examination would, however, show the evidence to be worthless. In the latter years of James every baronet received back his money. Whether it remained in his pocket, or was privately transferred to that of some courtier, is more than I or anybody else can say.

highest honours may be found in the creation of four new earls in the summer of 1618. Lord Lisle, the brother of Sir Philip Sydney, became Earl of Leicester, and his appointment was attributed not so much to his late services as commander of the garrisons of the cautionary towns, as to the recommendation of the Queen, whose chamberlain he was. Lord Compton, the brother of Lady Buckingham's husband, appears to have bought his promotion to the earldom of Northampton from the King or from the favourite. About the motives which led to the elevation of the other two there is no mystery whatever. The King wanted money with which to defray the expenses of his annual progress, and he preferred the sale of two peerages to the loss of his hunting. For 10,000*l.* a-piece Lord Cavendish and Lord Rich exchanged their baronies for the earldoms of Devonshire and Warwick. So little shame did James feel about the matter that he actually allowed the greater part of the price to be entered in the receipt-books of the Exchequer.[1]

1618. The four Earls.

There was something peculiarly disgraceful in the promotion of Rich. If there was one thing upon which James prided himself, it was his hatred of piracy. At the very moment at which the new earl's patent was being sealed, the King was planning an attack upon Algiers, and was preparing to bring Raleigh to the scaffold. Yet Rich had done coolly and deliberately what was far worse than anything perpetrated by Raleigh under the strongest possible temptation. With him piracy had degenerated into a mere commercial speculation. In 1616, he had fitted out two vessels under the flag of the Duke of Savoy, and

Rich's speculations in piracy.

[1] Receipt books, Aug. 8, 1618, June 29, 1619. Salvetti (*News-Letter*, July 28, Aug. 2, 1618) says that Devonshire and Warwick each paid 10,000*l.* The receipt-books only give 8,000*l.* as paid by Warwick, and 10,000*l.* by Devonshire. It is more likely that the remaining 2,000*l.* was paid privately than that any difference was made in the price of the two earldoms. Salvetti adds, that Northampton's creation was at Buckingham's request. According to Contarini the King got 150,000 crowns from the three. I have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by suggesting the possibility that Northampton's money stuck in Buckingham's pocket.

had sent them to the West Indies, from whence, after a cruise of eighteen months, they had returned laden with Spanish treasures.[1] Nor was his son, the inheritor of his title, and the future Lord High Admiral of the Commonwealth, any better. In conjunction with a Genoese merchant, residing in London, he despatched two piratical vessels to the East. Their first act was to attack a rich junk belonging to the mother of the Great Mogul. If it had not been for the fortunate interposition of the fleet of the East India Company, which came up before the contest was decided, the result of Rich's selfish enterprise would have been the closing of the busiest marts in India to English commerce.[2]

Soon after his return from the progress of which the expenses had been paid by the sale of these peerages, an opportunity was afforded to James of considering how far his system of government was likely to secure popularity. Besides the offices which were directly at his disposal, there were a large number of appointments which were filled by election. Of all such elections, there were few which would better serve as a test of national feeling than those in which the merchant princes of the City took part.

The Recordership of City.

The Recordership of London was in the gift of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; but of late years it had almost invariably been bestowed at the recommendation of the King. Such, however, was the growing unpopularity of the Court that, upon the occurrence of a vacancy, some of the aldermen formed the design of vindicating the freedom of election by choosing a candidate of their own. They fixed upon Whitelocke, whose services rendered in the

Candidatures of Whitelocke and Shute.

[1] Contarini to the Doge, May $\frac{21}{31}$ 1618, *Venice MSS.* Desp. Ingh. Stith, in his *History of Virginia*, i. 531, seems to refer to the same voyage, though there is a confusion in his narrative between the two Earls of Warwick.

[2] Pring to the Company, Nov. 12. Monox to the Company, Dec. 28, 1617, *E. I. C. Orig. Corr.* Court Minutes of the E. I. C., Feb. 24, 1618. Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 2. Smith to Carleton, Jan. 7. Wynn to Carleton, Jan. 28, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cv. 2, 3, 67. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, March $\frac{11}{21}$ 1619.

debates on the Impositions in 1610 and 1614, would be likely to conciliate in his favour the greater number of the electors.

Whitelocke's success would have done no great harm to the Government; but James had not forgotten the reluctance of the City magistrates to punish the rioters who had assaulted the house of the Spanish Ambassador, and he had made it a point of honour that no one who had not secured the good word of Buckingham should carry the election. Buckingham had already declared in favour of Shute, one of the least reputable of his followers. No time was lost. The late Recorder, Sir Anthony Ben, had died on a Saturday, and on Sunday morning the citizens who attended the service at St. Paul's saw the Chief Justice of England busily engaged with unseemly haste in canvassing the aldermen before they had time to leave the church. On Monday Shute presented himself before the electors, with a letter from James. He was told that when the last Recorder was chosen, the King had promised to write no more such letters; and that he must not forget that, having formerly been outlawed, he was himself disqualified from holding the post. Mortified at the rebuff, he hurried back to Court, threatening the city with the vengeance of his royal patron.

The King's interference.

As soon as James heard of the reception which his candidate had met with, he sent for Bacon, and asked him how he came to support Buckingham's recommendation of such a man? Bacon, seldom in haste to spy out defects in any follower of Buckingham, replied that what had occurred was merely the result of factious opposition. As soon as he had left the King, he sent for some of the aldermen, and asked them what objection they could possibly have to Shute? To his astonishment, they replied that he had no right to ask any question of the kind. If his Majesty wished to interrogate them, they were ready to answer; but they declined to reply to anyone else. They accordingly chose a deputation to lay their objections before the King.

Remonstrance of the Aldermen.

As soon as the aldermen were admitted, Buckingham, who was standing by, tried to pass the matter off. It was a pity, he said, to be hard upon a man because he had committed a fault

in his youth. "Not at all," was the reply; "he has been outlawed no less than fifteen times." There was no answering this, and Buckingham was silenced for a moment. But he quickly recovered himself, and whispered a few words in the King's ear. When this by-play was at an end, James turned to the aldermen and told them that he did not wish to break their privileges, but that he should consider it a personal favour if they would pay some attention to his recommendation. If they really objected to Shute, they could say nothing against Robert Heath, who was an honest man and a sound lawyer.

Heath was, indeed, no less dependent upon Buckingham than Shute; and of all the lawyers of the day there was none in whose constitutional theories a larger place was assigned to the prerogative. But there was nothing to be said against his moral character, and it was therefore no longer possible to raise any personal objection to the King's nominee. The question was reduced to a simple issue. By choosing Whitelocke, the electors would be protesting against what was practically a violation of the freedom of election. By choosing Heath, they would maintain that good understanding with the Government which was in many respects so essential to their interests. Again and again the aldermen attempted to escape from the dilemma. They begged the King to allow them that liberty of choice to which they were entitled by their charter. Every plea was met by the answer, that no compulsion would be used, but that the King expected them to vote for Heath.

Heath becomes the Court candidate.

As soon as Whitelocke was informed how strongly the King objected to his election, he declared his intention of withdrawing from the contest. He knew that he was especially obnoxious at Court, and he therefore thought that his name would be a bad rallying point for the friends of liberty of election. His supporters immediately determined to transfer their votes to Walter, the man who, nearly two years before, had been fixed upon by the almost unanimous voice of his profession, as best qualified to be Yelverton's successor as Solicitor-General. In spite of Walter's refusal to accept the nomination, his supporters resolved to go

The election.

to the poll. When the day of election arrived, it was found that of the twenty-four who were present to give their votes, eleven declared for Walter, whilst thirteen recorded their names in favour of Heath.[1] A victory of this kind was equivalent to a defeat. If James had been capable of taking warning, he would have seen that so slender a majority, obtained by such means, indicated a state of feeling into the causes of which he would do well to inquire.

[1] Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, 63.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL PARTIES IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

MUCH as the social and political system of Scotland differed from that of England, James appeared in the last months of 1618 to have been equally successful in imposing his will upon both his kingdoms. In 1612 he had easily obtained from the Scottish Parliament the ratification of the Acts by which the Assembly of Glasgow had established Episcopacy two years before, with the addition of alterations which would serve to render the power of the Bishops more unlimited than it had been before. By this Act of Parliament, which gave the King a legal mode of keeping the clergy in subjection, one chapter of Scottish ecclesiastical history was closed. In accomplishing his object, James had had the effective strength of the nation on his side. The powerful aristocracy, the lawyers, and part at least of the growing middle classes had been alienated by the harsh and intolerant spirit of the clerical assemblies now silenced. It remained to be seen whether James, content with having provided some elasticity of speech and thought, would abstain from attempting to mould the belief and worship of his subjects according to his own ideal.

1612. Episcopacy established by the Scottish Parliament.

James's victory over the Presbyterian clergy.

James, it is true, was far more prudent that his son was afterwards to be. He disliked extremes, and he shrank from the exertion needed to overcome serious opposition. But he was fond of theological speculation, and he had the highest confidence in his own conclusions. At the same time his residence in England threw the burden of maintaining the

ground which he took up on others rather than on himself, and thus rendered him less sensitive to the action of opinion in Scotland.

1614. The Communion to be received at Easter. 1615.

In the spring of 1614 James issued an order that all persons should partake of the Communion on April 24, the day which to the south of the Tweed was known as Easter Day. In 1615, a second order appeared, directing the administration of the Communion 'on one day yearly, to wit, Pasch day.'[1]

1616. The Assembly at Aberdeen.

Further changes were in contemplation. An Assembly was gathered at Aberdeen, and Aberdeen was the centre of a reaction which was now growing up against Presbyterianism, even amongst the Scottish clergy. The few southern ministers who made their way to so distant a place of meeting found themselves in a scanty minority. The Bishops and their supporters mustered strongly, and many of the temporal Lords had come in to give their countenance to them. Most of those who came to protest returned in despair to their homes in Fife or the Lothians. As soon as they were gone, the real business of the meeting commenced. The Assembly authorised the preparation of a new Confession of Faith, and of a Liturgy which was intended to supersede Knox's Book of Common Order. Children were to be examined by the Bishop or his deputy before they were admitted to the Communion, an administration of which was always to take place on Easter Day.[2]

Character of the Bishops.

Such a decision ran counter to the feelings of that energetic part of the clergy which had been thrust aside from the management of affairs. But if the composition of the new Liturgy had been left to the Bishops, it is not likely that it would have caused any widespread dissatisfaction. They had not floated to the surface on the tide of ecclesiastical reaction. Their opinions, so far as they had pronounced opinions at all, were very much like those of

[1] *Calderwood*, vii. 191, 196. Act of Scottish Privy Council, March 3, 1614. Botfield's *Original Letters*, i. 448.

[2] *Calderwood*, vii. 222. Compare a paper by Spottiswoode in Botfield's *Original Letters*, iii. 445.

the clergy around them, though held with an increased sense of the value of quiet and of the duty of submitting to the Royal authority. James, however, was too impatient to await the slow process of discussion and preparation. In reply to the letter in which the bishops communicated to him the resolutions of the Assembly, he sent down five Articles of his own which he required them to adopt. These Articles directed that the Communion should always be received in a kneeling posture ; that in case of sickness or necessity the Lord's Supper should be administered in private houses : that Baptism should under similar circumstances be administered in the same way ; that days of observance should be appointed for the commemoration of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of the Saviour, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost ; and that children should be brought to the bishop for a blessing.

The King's five articles.

It was not much to ask, according to the notions which surrounded James in England. But the proposed changes would be a severe shock to the religion of Scotland. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the first Article, which was certain to be more violently opposed than the other four, had the support of any party whatever in the Scottish Church. In England the custom of kneeling, though sometimes neglected was in possession of the field. It was in accordance with the law of the Church, the observance of which had never been interrupted. In Scotland it was a pure innovation.

Not called for in Scotland.

To the Archbishop of St. Andrews, on whom would fall the brunt of the conflict, the news of the King's resolution was most unwelcome. Archbishop Spottiswoode knew his countrymen well enough to be aware that he would have no peace if the Articles were to be enforced, and he would have been glad to avoid a conflict in which his own sympathies were not enlisted. As, however, he did not think it wise to oppose the King's peremptory command, he begged James not to issue the Articles by the Royal authority alone. It would be safer, he argued, to procure for them the sanction of an Assembly—an Assembly doubtless after the fashion of that of Aberdeen ; and he

Spottiswoode's dissatisfaction.

offered, if the question were postponed for another year, to do his best to procure the assent of such a body.[1]

It may be that the Archbishop was not entirely disinterested in wishing so unpopular a change to be discussed in the following year. James had given out that in that year he intended to visit the country of his birth, and Spottiswoode's work would doubtless be easier if the King were at his side.

James proposes to visit Scotland.

James, however, was not desirous of engaging once more in a personal dispute with the clergy. He wrote to the Scottish Council that, though he should have been glad to see the proposed reforms carried out during his visit, he would not at such a time bring forward anything which was unlikely to meet with universal acceptance.[2]

The consideration of the Articles postponed.

It was not from any consideration for the feelings or prejudices of his subjects that James threw over the realisation of his hopes to another year. He had resolved at least to show them what English worship was. In October the citizens of Edinburgh were scandalized by the strange apparition of an organ which had just been landed at Leith for the King's chapel at Holyrood. Two or three months later it was followed by some English carpenters, who brought with them figures of the patriarchs and apostles, carved in wood for the same chapel. All Edinburgh was immediately in an uproar. Popish images, it was confidently said, were to be set up at Holyrood, and the Popish mass would follow soon. So alarming were the symptoms of the public discontent, that the bishops begged the King to withdraw his order for the erection of the obnoxious carvings. James yielded, but, as usual, with no good grace. He told the bishops that he had not been in the slightest degree influenced by their arguments; but he had heard from his master of the works that it would be difficult to complete the proposed arrangements in time. "Do not,

The organ at Holyrood.

1617.

The carvings for the chapel.

[1] *Spottiswoode*, iii. 236.

[2] The King to the Scottish Privy Council, Dec. 15, 1616. Printed with a wrong date in the Abbotsford Club edition of *Letters and State Papers of the reign of James VI.*, 202.

therefore," he proceeded to say, "deceive yourselves with a vain imagination of anything done therein for ease of your hearts, or ratifying your error in your judgment of that graven work, which is not of an idolatrous kind, like to images and painted pictures adored and worshipped by Papists, but merely intended for ornament and decoration of the place where we should sit, and might have been wrought as well with figures of lions, dragons, and devils, as with those of patriarchs and apostles. But as we must wonder at your ignorance and teach you thus to distinguish between the one and the other, so are we persuaded that none of you would have been scandalised or offended if the said figures of lions, dragons, or devils had been carved and put up in lieu of those of the patriarchs and apostles, resembling in this the Constable of Castile, who being sent here to swear the peace between us and Spain, when he understood that this behoved to be solemnly performed in our chapel, he foresaw likewise that then some anthems would be sung, and therefore protested before his entry of our chapel that whatever were sung, God's name might not be used in it."[1] It was all very shrewd. But if the Bishops needed to be reasoned with in this fashion, what hope was there of carrying conviction to the heart of the mass of Scotchmen?

James at Holyrood.

On May 13 James crossed the border. On the 16th he entered Edinburgh, and for the first time since his mother's dethronement the voice of choristers and the pealing notes of the organ were heard in the chapel of Holyrood.[2] But James was not satisfied with the display of the forms of Church worship which he had learned to admire in England. He gave peremptory orders that all the noblemen, the Privy Councillors, and the Bishops who were in Edinburgh should receive the Communion on their knees in the chapel on Whitsunday. Of those who were thus summoned, many complied at once. But there were some who absented themselves from the service, and of those who appeared, some abstained from presenting themselves at

Kneeling enforced.

[1] The King to the Bishops, March 13, Botfield's *Original Letters*, ii. 496.

[2] *Calderwood*, vii. 246.

As many as could be got together at a moment's notice protested warmly against the measure, and James shrank from encountering the opposition which he had raised.

The Act was withdrawn, but the manner in which James withdrew it was justly regarded as an aggravation of the offence. The right, he said, of making changes in the external government of the Church was already inherent in the Crown. It was therefore unnecessary to pass a new Act to give him what he possessed already. In these words he asserted in the baldest way his claim to regulate forms of worship as he chose, whilst renouncing his right to decide upon doctrine : as if it were possible to separate between the external observance which is the expression of the doctrinal opinion, and the belief which recommends the use of any given form to those who have attached themselves to it.

James vented his anger upon the protesters. Two of them were imprisoned. A third, David Calderwood, persisted in maintaining that he had been in the right, and was banished.[1] He took refuge in Holland, where he employed his pen in vindicating the cause to which he had sacrificed his worldly prospects. The History in which he embalmed the sufferings and the constancy of the Church of Scotland has become to those who revere the memory of Melville and Henderson all that Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was to the Elizabethan Protestant, and all that Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* became to the Tory of the reign of Anne.

Calderwood banished.

That a rigorous Presbyterian like Calderwood should have fallen into disgrace was only to be expected. But it is significant of the state of opinion in Scotland that one of the two imprisoned protesters was Thomas Hewat, to whom had been committed by the Assembly of Aberdeen, the most episcopal of Scottish assemblies, the task of compiling a Liturgy for the Church. The Liturgy which he prepared is drawn upon the lines of Knox's Book of Common Order, and differs from it chiefly in its greater fulness, and in the introduction of a considerable number of prayers for special occa-

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sions.[1] There is nothing in it to give offence to the most zealous Presbyterian. If James was to make any change of importance in the service of the Church, it would be his own doing. No Scottish ecclesiastical party was likely of its own accord to go so far as he wished the whole Church to go.

The King's speech at St. Andrews.

James, however, persisted in his intention. On July 13 he convened at St. Andrews a special meeting, at which the Bishops and a select number of ministers were present. He told them that he merely wished to introduce a more decent order into the Church. If they had anything to say against his five Articles, he was ready to listen. But they must remember that his demands were just and religious, and that he was not to be resisted with impunity. In conclusion, he reminded them that it was the special prerogative of Christian kings to order the external polity of the Church, after taking the advice of the bishops. They might approve of his proceedings, or they might disapprove of them. But they must not imagine that anything they might choose to say would have the slightest influence with him unless they could support their opinions by arguments which he found himself unable to answer.[2]

It is not surprising that no one present thought it possible to find an argument which James would acknowledge himself to be unable to answer. Postponement of the difficulty was all that could be hoped for, and it was finally arranged that an Assembly should meet at St. Andrews in November to discuss the Articles. James returned to England, trusting that there would be no further difficulty on the subject.

Two only of the Articles unpopular.

Of the five Articles, three would probably have been accepted without difficulty, though the Assembly might perhaps have wished to fence round with some precautions against abuse the permission to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper in private houses, and the introduction of the rite of Confirmation. The Article which related to Church festivals was more unpopular. Not only was there a disinclination to adopt customs which could not

[1] Hewat's Liturgy is printed in Sprott's *Scottish Liturgies of the reign of James VI.*

[2] *Spottiswoode*, iii. 246.

plead the direct authority of the Scriptures, but there was a vague impression that the observance of these days was in some way or another Popish, and a belief that such holidays would serve to many as an excuse for riot and debauchery. But it was to the Article which prescribed kneeling at the reception of the Communion that the most decided opposition was to be expected. It was absurd to speak of the question as a mere matter of external discipline. Such actions are intimately connected with the innermost beliefs and feelings of the heart, and it is impossible to interfere with them without intruding upon the sanctuary of the conscience. To one man, to kneel at the reception of the Communion is a simple act of self-humiliation in the presence of Him in whose worship he is engaged. To another the same action would carry with it an acknowledgment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, or at least of the Real Presence in the consecrated elements. No doubt rules of some kind are necessary in every place where men meet together, and when members of the same congregation differ on matters of importance, there will be considerable difficulty in keeping them on good terms with one another. But it was not even pretended that any single Scotchman had asked for the change, though Scotch Presbyterians were in those days in the habit of kneeling at the ordinary prayers. No doubt, when James had once declared his resolution, he would meet with plenty of support. But it would be support of that kind which is valueless in the end. He would have the assistance of those amongst the clergy who thought it dangerous to quarrel with him, and of those amongst the laity who bore a grudge against the clergy, and who would have come to his help with equal readiness if he had proclaimed that standing upright or reclining on a couch was the fitting posture for the reception of the Communion.

Special objection to kneeling at the Communion.

The Assembly at St. Andrews gave no satisfaction to James. It agreed to the administration of the Communion to the sick, but postponed the consideration of the other Articles to a more convenient season.

Nov. The Assembly at St. Andrews.

To all who had ears to hear, the opposition of the Assembly conveyed a serious warning. Of all men living in Scotland, there was probably none whose advice was better worth taking on ecclesiastical matters than Patrick Forbes, of Corse. Sprung from an ancient Scottish family, and himself a landed proprietor in Aberdeenshire, he had attached himself in youth to the high Presbyterian party of Andrew Melville. Circumstances changed in Scotland, and the decline of the combative spirit which made James's alterations possible was not without its effect upon him. Secluded in his Aberdeenshire home from the main current of ecclesiastical pretensions, he grew more earnest in his zeal for the spread of morality and piety, and less careful to keep up distinctions of outward ceremonies. The country around him was in a sad state of spiritual destitution. The great landowners, the Earls of Huntly and Errol, had remained faithful to the Church of Rome; and whilst priests and Jesuits were favoured by the landed aristocracy, the more vehement Presbyterian ministers had been hurried off to prison and banishment by the King. Though Patrick Forbes's own brother, John Forbes of Alford, had been banished for his part in resisting the introduction of Episcopacy,[1] he himself took no share in these conflicts. At the request of the neighbouring clergy he consented to occupy the pulpit, layman as he was, in an empty church near his home, and though he was silenced by the King's directions, he does not appear to have taken offence at the interruption. In 1612, in the forty-seventh year of his age, he received ordination, and when the see of Aberdeen was vacant in January 1618, he was appointed Bishop, at the unanimous request of the clergy.

1618. Jan. Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen.

The letter in which Forbes explained to Archbishop Spottiswoode the reasons of his reluctance to accept the office is most valuable as an expression of the opinion of one so high-minded and honest. His hesitation, he said, did not proceed from any 'disallowing the office and degree of a bishop. Episcopacy, if bishops were

His letter to Spottiswoode.

[1] *Hist. of Engl. from the accession of James I.*, i. 530–537.

'rightly elected and defined with such moderation of place and power, as' might 'put restraint to excessive usurpations, was not only a tolerable, but even a laudable and expedient policy in the Church, and very well consisting with God's written word.' Nor was he influenced by any fear of giving offence to others. He even thought it would be right for an honourable man who did not entirely approve of episcopal government, to accept the office of a bishop when it had once been determined that the chief authority in the Church should be entrusted to bishops, rather than run the chance of seeing their places filled 'with the offscouring of the world, and the dregs of men.'

Forbes's real difficulty lay elsewhere. "This is that, my good Lord," he writes, "which maketh all my scruple, the present condition and course of things—and we cannot tell how far a farther novation in our Church is intended—so peremptorily and impetuously urged on the one part, and so hardly received on the other; as betwixt these extremities, and the undertaking of a bishopric, I see no option left to me, but either to incur his Majesty's displeasure, which is the rock under Christ I am loathest to strike on; or then to drive both myself and my ministry in such common distaste, as I see not how henceforth it can be any more fruitful. I dispute not here of the points themselves; but I am persuaded if so wise, so learned, and so religious a king as God hath blessed us with, were fully and freely informed, or did thoroughly conceive the sad sequel of enforcing our Church, that neither in the points already proposed, nor in any which we fear yet to ensue for this intended conformity, would his Majesty esteem any of such fruit or effect as therefore the state of a quiet Kirk should be marred, the minds of brethren, who for any bygone distraction were beginning again to warm in mutual love, should be of anew again and almost desperately distracted, the hearts of many good Christians discouraged, the resolution of many weak ones brangled,[1] matter of insulting ministered to Romanists, and to profane epicureans of a dis-

February.

[1] *i.e.* 'shaken.'

dainful deriding of our whole profession. . . . If wherein our Kirk seemeth defective, his Majesty would so far pity our weakness, and tender our peace, as to enforce nothing but which first in a fair and national Council were determined, wherein his Highness would neither make any man afraid by terror, nor pervert the judgment of any with hope of favour, then men may adventure to do service. But if things be so violently carried as no end may appear of bitter contention, neither any place left to men placed in rooms, but, instead of procuring peace, and reuniting the hearts of the brethren, to stir the coals of detestable debate—for me, I have no courage to be a partner in that work. I wish my heart-blood might extinguish the ungracious rising flame in our Kirk. But if I can do nothing for the quenching of it, then I would be heartily sorry to add fuel thereto." [1]

His conduct in his diocese.

Forbes's objections were not insuperable. He became Bishop of Aberdeen. He was one of those bishops who justify episcopacy in the eyes of men. There was no man in the diocese who was not the better for his acceptance of the office. He was a true overseer of the Church. Parishes were filled under his direction with pious and earnest ministers. Learning was encouraged at the Universities of Aberdeen. The Bishop's justice and gentleness gave him the highest place in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and he was frequently employed as an arbitrator in disputes which a generation before would have lead to deadly feuds, to be extinguished only in blood. If, when the day of trouble came, there was a Royalist party in Scotland at all, it was mainly owing to the impression produced by the life and labours of Patrick Forbes.

1617. Dec. Spottiswoode's character.

If his advice had been taken by James and by his son, there would have been no civil war in Scotland. But James was resolved to force on the Articles, and in Spottiswoode he found an instrument fitted for the work for Spottiswoode, who, like Forbes, was a lover of peace, and an opponent of the absolute assertions

[1] P. Forbes to Spottiswoode, Feb. 13 (?), *Calderwood*, vii. 291. For date, see *Funeral Sermons on P. Forbes* (Spot. Soc.) lx.

of the Presbyterians in matters which he believed to be indifferent, was ready, for the sake of peace, to stoop to work with which Forbes would never have defiled his fingers. James, when he heard of the resolution taken by the Assembly which had met at St. Andrews, told its members that they should now know what it was to draw upon themselves the anger of a king, and, to give point to his denunciation, threatened those who refused to accept the Articles[1] with the loss of their stipends. Spottiswoode prevented the immediate execution of the threat, but he made use of the King's letter to overawe the reluctant ministers into submission.[2]

James threatens the ministers.

Such were the disgraceful means by which the new religious observances were to be forced upon the Church. Many a man who conscientiously believed the Articles to be Popish and antichristian drew back from an opposition which threatened to reduce to beggary himself and those who were dearer to him than himself. When the bishops met in Edinburgh in May they were able to inform the King that he might summon an Assembly with every prospect of success.[3] The observance of the festivals had already been enjoined by Act of Council.[4] But for the other Articles it was thought advisable to obtain at least the semblance of ecclesiastical authority. Attempts had been made by the bishops to enforce kneeling at the Communion, which had met with but indifferent success. It was accordingly resolved that on August 25 an Assembly should meet at Perth.

1618. Preparations for an Assembly at Perth.

May.

The King was to be represented at Perth by three com-

[1] The King to the Archbishops, Dec. 6. Botfield's *Original Letters*, ii. 522.

[2] "Which letters being shewed to the ministers of Edinburgh and others that happened to repair to that city for augmentation of stipends, did cast them into great fear; and, repenting their wilfulness, as they had reason, became requesters to the Archbishop of St. Andrews to preach, as he was commanded, upon Christmas Day."—*Spottiswoode*, iii. 250.

[3] Lindsay, *The Proceedings of the Assembly at Perth*, 19.

[4] Botfield's *Original Letters*, ii. 540.

missioners, of whom Lord Binning was the most prominent. As Sir Thomas Hamilton, he had been noted for the violence with which he had upheld the Royal authority against all clerical claims to independence. He was now Secretary of State, and his presence at Perth would bring with it the certainty that no unnecessary scruples would be allowed to stand in the way of the King's wishes.

Lord Binning.

Even Binning, however, was disconcerted as he rode into the streets of Perth. His practised eye told him that many of the black gowns he saw were worn by his old enemies the ministers of the thoroughly Presbyterian districts of Fife and the Lothians. Hurrying to the Archbishop, he confided to him his fears. Spottiswoode quickly reassured him. In the early days of the Reformation, Knox, full of confidence in his country, and wishing to make the General Assembly the ecclesiastical Parliament of the nation, had welcomed the presence of the nobility as well as that of the elected representatives of the clergy and laity. The noblemen were now flocking to Perth in large numbers, and were ready, almost to a man, to vote for the King. If only thirty clerical votes were cast for the Articles, failure was impossible ; and it would be strange if, with all the means at his disposal, the Archbishop could not secure thirty clerical votes for the King.

Aug. The opposition at Perth.

The sermons at the opening of the Assembly were preached by Forbes and Spottiswoode. Forbes seems to have contented himself with recommending the members of the Assembly to act according to their consciences, at the same time that he pointed out that if the Articles were themselves indifferent, the effect of the anger of the King upon the Church was an element of the situation which might well be taken into consideration.[1]

Aug. 25. Forbes's sermon.

Spottiswoode's sermon disclosed more naïvely still the only ground on which the Articles seemed worthy of recommendation to anyone in Scotland. "Had it been in our power," he said, "to have dissuaded or declined them, we certainly would." But they were matters

Spottiswoode's sermon.

[1] *Calderwood*, vii. 305. Binning to the King, Botfield's *Original Letters*, ii. 573.

of indifference, and in such matters the danger of disobedience was greater than the danger from innovation. All that he could adduce in support of the Articles was that they were neither impious nor unlawful. "And surely," he continued, "if it cannot be shewed that they are repugnant to the written word, I see not with what conscience we can refuse them, being urged as they are by our Sovereign Lord and King; a King who is not a stranger to divinity, but hath such acquaintance with it, as Rome never found, in the confession of all men, a more potent adversary; a King neither superstitious nor inclinable that way, but one that seeks to have God rightly and truly worshipped by all his subjects. His person, were he not our Sovereign, gives them sufficient authority, being recommended by him; for he knows the nature of things and the consequences of them, what is fit for a Church to have, and what not, better than we do all."

Order of the Assembly.

It is easy to imagine what must have been the effect of so absolute a self-surrender on the minds of such of the ministers present as retained a spark of independence. But a glance at the Assembly would have been sufficient to show that the hour of the independent ministers was not yet come. By accident or design the place in which it was convened was too small to afford decent accommodation to all who were present. Seats were provided for the nobility, for the bishops, and even for the representatives of the boroughs. The ministers were left to stand huddled together in a crowd behind the backs of those who were seated at the table. As soon as order was established the proceedings were commenced by the reading of a letter from the King.

The King's letter.

James's missive was couched in his usual style. He hoped, he said, that the Assembly would not allow the unruly and ignorant multitude to bear down the better and more judicious. They must, however, understand that nothing that they could do would be of any real importance. It would do them no good to reject the Articles, as they would be imposed at once by the Royal authority, which was all that was really needed. Those who denied this called in question that power which Christian kings had received from God.

As soon as the letter had been read, the Archbishop enforced its advice by a recital of the various miseries which would befall those who were unwise enough to brave the King's displeasure.

Aug. 25.

A conference was then held, in which a number of ministers, selected by Spottiswoode, took part. The Archbishop had taken care that the majority of these should be on the side of the King. There was a sharp debate on the form in which the question should be put to the Assembly. The independent ministers thought it should be, "Whether kneeling or sitting at the Communion were the fitter gesture?" Spottiswoode was too good a tactician to allow this, and he carried a motion that the question should be, "His Majesty desires our gesture of sitting at the Communion to be changed into kneeling. Why ought not the same to be done?" The burden of proof was thus thrown upon his opponents.

Aug. 26. Preliminary conference.

The next morning Spottiswoode confronted the full Assembly. Everything was done to harass the opponents of the Court. They were not allowed to discuss the ecclesiastical question on its own merits. They were told that the only question before them was, "Is the King to be obeyed or not?" They were repeatedly warned of the penalties awaiting their obstinacy. When at last the vote was taken, Spottiswoode reminded each man of the consequences of his decision. "Have the King in your mind," he said; "Remember the King," "Look to the King." Under this pressure eighty-six votes were given for the Articles, only forty being secured to the Opposition.[1]

Aug. 27. The full Assembly.

The Articles accepted.

[1] Calderwood, *Perth Assembly*, and *History*, vii. 304. Lindsay, *A true narrative of all the passages at Perth*. Binning to the King. Botfield's *Original Letters*, ii. 573. Calderwood and Lindsay do not differ more than might be expected from men taking opposite sides. Lindsay admits quite enough against his own party, and Binning's letter, written a few hours after the occurrence, agrees substantially with Calderwood as to the form in which the vote was taken. Calderwood gives the words thus: "Whether will ye consent to these articles, or disobey the King?" Lindsay positively denies that this form was used. It is possible that in the formal question the King's name was omitted, but that Spottiswoode's language left no doubt what was intended.

The majority thus obtained was, if the twelve bishops' votes be set aside as already acquired for the King, almost entirely derived from the laity. Of the ministers present there was a bare majority of seven in favour of the Articles, a majority which, under the circumstances in which the vote was taken, indicates a very large preponderance of clerical opinion against the change. On the other hand, out of thirty lay votes only two were given in opposition.[1] If indeed the divergence between lay and clerical opinion had indicated a real desire on the part of the laity to alter the ceremonies of the Church, it might have been said that James had only given effect in a hasty and indecorous manner to the voice of the country. In truth there is everything to show that this was not the case. The laity of Scotland, and especially the nobility, gave no signs of any ardour on behalf of the new ceremonies. They were glad enough to worry the ministers—still more glad, if it were possible, to plunder them of their scanty revenues. But there were no strong convictions behind the votes which they had recorded.

Composition of the majority.

The moral weight of high purpose and fixed resolve was on the other side. The bishops had enough to do in sentencing those who refused to conform, and who declared that the meeting at Perth was no lawful Assembly. In Fife and the Lothians, at least, the recalcitrant ministers had their congregations at their backs. In Edinburgh large numbers of the inhabitants poured out of the city to the country churches, where the new orders were less strictly enforced. That a fitting example might be set, the officers of state and the nobles of the land were marshalled to church like unwilling recruits, whilst the poor who lived upon the charity dispensed by the clergy were threatened with starvation if they

The Articles enforced.

[1] The following calculation is founded on Lindsay's statements :—

	Bishops	Ministers	Laity	Total
Affirmative . .	12	46	28	86
Negative . .	0	39	2	41
	12	85	30	127

refused to conform. Ministers were cited before the bishops, and the examination usually ended in an unseemly wrangle. A man like Spottiswoode could only fall back upon the orders of the King.[1] Even Forbes was the worse for the unhappy contest in which he was engaged. "Will you," he said, when some of the bishops were induced to forward to the King a petition for a dispensation to the recalcitrant ministers—"will you justify the doctrine of these men, who have called the reverent gesture which we use idolatry, and raised such a schism in our Church? Till they be brought publicly to confess their error, or heresy rather, I shall never be yielding, for my part. It was before indifferent; now I esteem it necessary, in regard to the false opinions they have dispersed, to retain constantly the form we have received."[2]

Whatever explanation may be given of the acceptance of the five Articles by Scotland, there can be no doubt that there had been a lull in the Presbyterian enthusiasm of the seventeenth century. Something of the same kind might be said of English religion. The struggle against Spain had been successful. The idea for which Burghley and Walsingham had contended through good repute and evil repute had been realised. The councillors of James had no need to be anxiously taking precautions against invasion. Their sleep was never disturbed by dreams of a Spanish fleet at Cadiz, or a Spanish army in Flanders. With security had come corruption. Men, who were living without a purpose, and whose activity was limited to the regular fulfilment of the ordinary routine of duty, soon found the vacancy in their minds filled up by the consideration of their own personal interests. The absence of political enthusiasm was only equalled by the absence of religious enthusiasm. Protestantism was never thought of by them as a rule of life. It was a mere state contrivance, to be supported and encouraged for political reasons, or, at the most, a standard round

1617. The courtiers and politicians.

[1] *Calderwood*, vii. 370.

[2] Spottiswoode to Dr. John Forbes, April 2, 1635, *Funeral Sermons on P. Forbes*, 218.

which they might gather to fling defiance at their enemies. The one truth which admitted of no doubt whatever was that money was worth having.[1]

Converts to Rome.

Among men of this character the missionaries of Rome found their converts most easily. That great Church which had once led the van in the progress of the world,—which had lit the lamp of self-denial in the midst of bloodshed and riot, had educed order out of anarchy, and had given hope to those who had no hope in this world or the next,—was now, as far as England was concerned, little better than a hospital for the wounded in the spiritual and moral conflict which was still, as ever, being waged. It could point to the difficulties and dangers of the way, and could lure to its arms those who were frightened at the errors and mistakes of the combatants. It could give rest, but it could not give victory.

Protestantism in England.

It is no wonder that the better minds in England turned fiercely upon those who would have dragged them back into the past, and that with unwise mistrust of themselves they sought to bar out the dreaded evil with penal and restrictive legislation. Yet, in reality, it was with English Protestantism as with the prince in the Arabian tale, who could only obtain the object of his desires by pressing forwards up the hill, whilst he was turned into stone if he looked round for a moment to combat the mocking voices which pealed in his ears from behind. If it had not been for James's encouragement to Spanish intrigue, there would have been less harshness displayed towards the Catholics, and less bitter intolerance cherished, than was possible as matters stood. Yet, even as it was, there was a great change for the better. The old Puritanism which had busied itself with caps and surplices, and with energetic protests against

[1] "Vede [sua Maestà] li principali Signori dai quali è continuamente cinto, pronti con l'assistenza corporale al rito della Maestà sua, ma con el pensiero interiore divisi in molte opinioni, non soddisfatti di se medesimi, mal contenti della volontà di chi comanda, poco uniti con Dio, ed interessati nel proprio comodo, il quale solo pare che come idolo adorino." Relazione di M. A. Correr, 1611, *Relazioni Venete*, Inghilterra, 114.

everything which bore the slightest resemblance to the practices of the Roman Church, was gradually dropping out of sight, and a movement was taking place which careless and prejudiced writers have attributed to the strictness of James and Bancroft, but which was in reality derived from a far higher source. The fact was, that thoughtful Englishmen were less occupied in combating Spain and the Pope, and more occupied in combating immorality and sin than they had been in the days of Elizabeth.

Systems in politics and theology.

There was one great danger to which the men of this day were exposed. They were under a strong temptation to put their trust in systems. Systems of theology, systems of law, systems of politics, would each, from time to time, seem to be the one thing needful. As far as they were builders of systems, indeed, the men of the seventeenth century failed. The government of England has not shaped itself in accordance with the theories of Bacon or of Vane. The Church of England has not become what it would have been under the guidance of Laud or of Baxter. Yet it would be wrong to pour upon these systems the contempt with which they sometimes meet. They were raised unconsciously as barriers against the flood of immorality which was setting in ; against unscrupulous falsehood, such as that of Raleigh ; against thoughtless vanity, such as that of Buckingham ; against mean wickedness, such as that of Lady Roos. There was that in them which would live—the belief in the paramount claims of duty ; the faith in a Divine order in political, in social, and in domestic life, which has stamped itself indelibly on the English mind. It is this which has never been effaced even in the worst of times, and which shines forth with strange vitality whenever the heart of the nation recovers its ancient vigour.

Sooner or later, no doubt, the time arrives when such systems must be cast away at any cost. When it is discovered that they exclude as much as they include ; when they cease to strengthen the life, and become nothing better than fetters to the mind, their day is past. But until that secret is learnt, they are the safeguards against anarchy. They form the

barriers against which self-will and self-confidence dash themselves in vain. They are less than truth, but they are more than passion. In the years that were coming, England would learn surely enough what their tyranny was. But she had also to learn that it is by enlarging them, not by casting them aside, that progress alone is possible.[1]

The Puritan conformists.

Happily for England, the life and vigour of the Elizabethan age had not been thrown away. The fear that the children of the generation which had watched with Burghley and fought with Drake would crouch under the yoke of the Jesuits, was a mere chimera. That there would be a reaction against the indefinite aims and the moral weaknesses of the past was certain; but in whatever form it came, it would be sure, in the very midst of the order which it established, to leave wide room for the freedom of the individual mind.

Already it seemed as if Puritanism was fitting itself for its high mission. It was outgrowing the stern limits within which it had wasted its energies in earlier times. A generation was arising of Puritan conformists,[2] who had ceased to trouble them-

[1] "Such views," writes Professor Max Müller on a very different subject, "may be right or wrong. Too hasty comparisons, or too narrow distinctions, may have prevented the eye of the observer from discovering the broad outline of nature's plan. Yet every system, however insufficient it may prove hereafter, is a step in advance. If the mind of man is once impressed with the conviction that there must be order and law everywhere, it never rests again until all that seems irregular has been eliminated, until the full beauty and harmony of nature has been perceived, and the eye of man has caught the eye of God beaming out from the midst of His works. The failures of the past prepare the triumphs of the future." *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 16.

[2] The phrase "Doctrinal Puritans" is generally used for these men in ecclesiastical histories; but it has the great demerit of expressing the point of agreement with other Puritans, rather than the point of difference. Indeed, the name Puritan itself is a constant source of trouble to the historian. It sometimes means men who objected to certain ceremonies, who were non-conformists, or who would have been so if they could. Sometimes it includes all who held to the Calvinist theology. It is even used of those who were opposed to the Court. Thus Doncaster, of all men in the world, is sometimes called a Puritan, and, in the same way, Prince Charles is

selves about many questions which had seemed all-important to their fathers. They were not anxious to see the now customary forms of the Church of England give way to those of Scotland or Geneva, and they were ready to accept the Prayer Book as a whole, even if they disliked some of its expressions. What they lost in logic they gained in breadth. They desired that under the teaching of the Bible, interpreted as it was by them through the medium of the Calvinist theology, every Englishman should devote himself to the fulfilment of those duties in which they saw the worthy preparation for the life to come. They preached self-restraint, not in the spirit of the mediæval ascetic, because they despised the world, but because they looked upon the world as the kingdom of God, in which, as far as in them lay, they would do their Master's will. In the ideal England which rose before their eyes, the riotous festivities of Whitehall, and the drunken revelries of the village alehouse, were to be alike unknown. Soberness, temperance, and chastity were to be the results of a reverent submission to the commands of God.

It was by its demand for a purer morality that Puritanism retained its hold upon the laity. There was springing up amongst men a consciousness that there was work to be done in England very different from that in which their fathers had been engaged. They saw around them the mass of men living a life of practical heathenism, regardless of everything beyond their immediate wants ; and they sought to rouse the idle and the profligate by evoking in their hearts a sense of personal responsibility to their Maker. It was in this proclamation of the closeness of the connection between the individual soul and its God that the strength of that Puritanism was to be found which was sending forth those armies of Christian warriors who were already silently working their way beneath the surface of that society in the high places of which James and Buckingham were playing their pranks. Yet the loftiness of the standard which they had set before them was not without its own peculiar dangers. They were not seldom narrow-minded and egotistical. In their

said by Valaresso in 1624 to be "troppo Puritano," a phrase which it is difficult to read without a smile.

hatred of vice, they were apt to become intolerant of pleasure, and to look down with contempt upon those who disregarded the barriers which they had erected for the preservation of their own virtue. If ever they succeeded in acquiring political power, they would find it hard to avoid using it for the purpose of coercing the world into morality.

The same tide which had swept the Puritans into conformity, was carrying on the original conformists to a further development of their creed. What Baxter was to Cartwright, that Andrewes and Laud were to Hooker. That which may be termed the right wing of the body which had accepted the Elizabethan compromise, was becoming more distinctive in its doctrines, and more systematic in its thought. It was no longer sufficient to defend the rites of the Church of England upon grounds of expediency, or to magnify the duty of obedience to the civil power. The rites must be declared to be good in themselves, and, as such, entitled to the submission of all honest Christians. The leading idea round which these men gathered was antagonistic to the purely individual religion of the Genevan doctor. They had faith in a Divine operation upon men's souls from without, in a work of God running through past ages, acting upon the conscience by means of ecclesiastical organization, and making use of the senses and imagination to reach the heart. Such a system had its charm for many minds, and was readily adopted by the most promising students at the Universities. It found its support in the increasing study of patristic theology, and in those portions of the liturgy and ritual of the English Church which had been retained, with more or less alteration, from the practices of the times preceding the Reformation. Relinquishing the attempt to raise by a sudden impulse the vain and frivolous to a standard which it was impossible for them, except under extraordinary circumstances, to reach at a bound, it aimed at sapping the evil, by the formation of habits, and by surrounding the heart with the softening influences of external example. That the view of human nature upon which such a system was based was in many respects larger and truer than that from which the Puritan looked upon

School of Andrewes and Laud.

the world, it is impossible to deny. But it was exposed to especial danger from its shrinking from rash and violent remedies. Those who thought it impossible to tear up evil by the root, and who refused to include in one common denunciation the well-meaning man of the world with the hardened and abandoned sinner, might easily be led into a state of mind in which the boundary line between good and evil was almost obliterated ; or, what was still worse, might grow blind to sin in high places where its denunciation might seem to be injurious to the cause which they had at heart. Nor was the danger less that, as the Puritan too often made an idol of the system by which his faith was supported, so these men might become idolaters of the organization in which they trusted, and might succumb to the temptation of using political power for the purpose of forcing upon an unwilling population ecclesiastical arrangements which were foreign to their feelings and habits.

Already in the school which was opposed to Puritanism a twofold tendency was to be discerned. The mind of Andrewes was cast in a devotional and imaginative mould, and he preferred to attract men by preaching and example rather than to repel them by compulsion. Laud was above all things a disciplinarian. For asceticism or mysticism there was no room in his thoughts ; yet, as far as the intellect was concerned, he was more truly Protestant than any Puritan in England. His objection to the Church of Rome, and to the Church of Geneva, was not so much that their respective creeds were false, as that they both insisted upon the adoption of articles of faith which he believed to be disputable, or at least unnecessary to be enforced. But the liberty which he claimed for men's minds, he denied to their actions. Here, at least, order must prevail. No interference could be too petty, no disregard of the feelings of others too great, for the sake of establishing uniformity of practice.

Contrast between Andrewes and Laud.

How dangerous authority might become in his hands had recently been shown. Towards the end of 1616, he had been appointed to the Deanery of Gloucester. The bishop of the see, Miles Smith, was well known as one of the most distinguished for Hebrew scholarship

Laud Dean of Gloucester.

amongst the translators of the Bible; and he had owed his bishopric to the services which he had rendered in that capacity. It was not long before James looked back upon the appointment with regret. Smith's theology was Calvinist; and in his dislike of ceremonial observance, he shared the opinions of the extreme Puritans. Under his influence, the fabric of the cathedral was allowed to fall into decay, and the communion-table, which in the majority of the cathedrals, had been placed at the east end of the chancel had, at Gloucester, maintained its position in the middle of the choir.

Alteration in the position of the communion-table.

It is probable that Laud owed his promotion to the King's dislike of these irregularities. As he was about to visit his deanery, James sent for him, and told him that he expected him to set in order whatever he found amiss. The errand upon which he was thus sent was one after his own heart. He looked upon the question of the communion-table as one of vital importance. To his mind it was not so much the symbol of the presence of the invisible God, as it was the throne of the invisible King. But however strongly he might have felt, it would have been wise to set about his work with some consideration for the feelings of those who conscientiously differed from himself. The change which he proposed was certain to arouse opposition. It would have been worth while to have taken the congregation into his confidence, and, if he could not hope to persuade them to adopt his views, he might have deigned to give some explanation of what he was doing. If he could not bring himself to this, it would at least have been a graceful act to enter, if possible, into friendly communication with the bishop, and to acquaint him with the commission which he had received from the King.

Nothing of this sort appears to have occurred to Laud for an instant.[1] On his arrival at Gloucester he went straight to the

[1] Laud might have profitably studied the writings of a man inferior to him in firmness and consistency, but far his superior in discretion. "As concerning the ringing of bells upon Allhallow Day at night," wrote Cranmer, "and covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the Cross, he" (*i.e.*, the Bishop of Worcester) "thought it necessary that a letter of your

chapter-house, and laying before the canons the King's commands, persuaded them to give the necessary orders for the repair of the cathedral, and for the change in the position of the communion-table. As if this were not enough, he informed the cathedral officials that it was expected that they would bow towards the now elevated table, whenever they entered the church.

Opposition in Gloucester.

Of course all Gloucester was furious at this sudden blow. The bishop declared that he would never again enter the doors of the cathedral till the cause of offence had been removed. The townsmen cried out loudly against the stranger who had come to set up popery in their midst. In the excitement of the moment, one of the bishop's chaplains wrote a letter, in which the members of the chapter were sharply taken to task for gross neglect of duty in shrinking from resistance to the dean's innovations. The letter quickly obtained publicity, and copies of it were passed about from hand to hand. For some time all efforts to stop the turmoil were unavailing. It was in vain that one of the aldermen was persuaded to summon before him as libellers those who had taken part in the circulation of the letter, and that threats were freely uttered that the chapter would appeal to the High Commission for redress.

Meanwhile Laud, who had quietly gone back to Oxford as soon as he had done the mischief, was apprized of the commotion which he had left behind him. All that could be extracted from him by the news, was a cold dry letter to the bishop, calling upon him for assistance in repressing the turbulence of the Puritans, and threatening him, in no obscure terms, with the vengeance of the King.

By degrees the tumult subsided. The townsmen found

Majesty's pleasure therein should be sent by your Grace unto the two archbishops ; and we to send the same to all other prelates within your Grace's realm. . . . Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there would be set forth some doctrine therewith which should declare the cause of the abolishing or alteration, for to satisfy the conscience of the people." Cranmer to Henry VIII., Jan. 24, 1546, *Remains*, i. 318.

that remonstrances were of no avail, and withdrew from a hopeless conflict. They did not know that with his high-handed disregard of the feelings and prejudices of his countrymen, Laud was preparing the way for the success of their cause. Many of those who had taken part in the outcry against the dean, would live to see the forces of Charles I. recoil in discomfiture from before the walls of Gloucester.[1]

Not less worthy of notice is another scene on which men's eyes were directed a few months after Laud's visit to Gloucester.

The observance of the Sabbath.

It had become an article of belief amongst the Puritans, that the first day of the week was the true representative of the Jewish Sabbath, and as such was to be observed with complete abstention, not only from all work, but from every kind of amusement. Such a doctrine was peculiarly fitted to commend itself to their minds. It afforded them an opportunity for the practice of that self-restraint and self-denial which their creed demanded, and at the same time it presented itself to them under the semblance of a Divine command, which it would be sheer impiety to disobey. The doctrine was, perhaps, more readily accepted because it appealed to another side of the Puritan character. The observance was a duty lying upon Christians as individuals, not as members of a congregation, nor of any ecclesiastical body whatever. It demanded no co-operation with other men. However desirable it might be to go to church upon the Sabbath, the Puritan could do all that was necessary for the observance of the day without crossing his own threshold. The main thing lay in his own devotional thoughts, and in his careful abstinence from all merely secular labours and pleasures.

It was but too probable that such men would soon be brought into collision with their neighbours. To ordinary

Resistance to the Puritan opinions on the subject.

Englishmen, Sunday was a very different day from that which the Puritan wished it to become. From the privy councillor, who made a habit of attending the meeting of the Council upon Sunday, to the villager who

[1] Laud to Smith, Feb. 27; Laud to Neile, March 3, 1617, *Works*, vi. 239. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, 69, 75. Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, 76.

spent the afternoon in dancing upon the green, all England had been accustomed from time immemorial to consider that at the close of the service the religious duties of the day were at an end. It was natural, therefore, that the Puritans should find themselves greeted with a storm of obloquy. Ordinary men of the world joined with the profligate and the drunkard in the outcry against the sour fanatics, who were doing their best to impose intolerable burdens upon their neighbours.

If the controversy had been left to itself, nothing but good could have come of it. The example of self-denial would have told in the end. Englishmen would not, indeed, have been unanimous in adopting the doctrine that the Christian festival was the direct representative of the Jewish Sabbath ; but there would have been not a few who would have learned what to them was the new lesson, that man has higher objects in life than dancing round a May-pole, or carousing at a tavern ; and they would, before long, have become thoroughly ashamed of the scenes by which a day thus set apart was too often desecrated.

But unfortunately the Puritans were unwilling to leave the controversy to itself. When James passed through Lancashire, on his return from Scotland, he found the subject forced upon his attention. Of all counties, Lancashire was the one in which such questions required the most delicate handling. A large part of the population, headed by some of the principal landowners, still clung to the Church of Rome. On the other hand, those who had adopted the Protestant opinions had imbibed them in their most extreme form. The preachers who had been sent down by Elizabeth, with a special mission to withdraw the people from the influence of the priests, had brought with them all those feelings and opinions which were most opposed to the doctrines of that Church which they were engaged in combating.

Enforcement of the observance of the Sabbath in Lancashire.

Shortly before the King's arrival, an attempt had been made by some of the magistrates to suppress the usual Sunday amusements. The Catholic gentry were not slow in taking advantage of the opportunity of gaining a little popularity. Putting them-

selves at the head of the angry villagers, they lost no time in denouncing the tyranny of a morose and gloomy fanaticism. The quarrel was becoming serious just as James was passing through the county. He listened to the complaints which were brought to him against the magistrates, gave a hasty decision in favour of the remonstrants, and went on his way, thinking no more about the matter.

Appeal to the King.

He had not gone far before news was brought to him which obliged him to give more serious attention to the subject. Advantage had been taken of his hasty words. The country people, who had been deprived of the archery and the dancing to which they had been accustomed, had given vent to their satisfaction at his decision in their favour, by doing their best to annoy those who had placed the restriction upon them. Instead of contenting themselves, as heretofore, with their afternoon amusements, they gathered in groups near the doors of the churches in the morning, and at the time when the service was commencing within, did their best to distract the attention of the worshippers, by the sharpest notes of their music, and by the loud shouts of laughter with which they took care to increase the din.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence, James applied for advice to the bishop of the diocese. He could not have appealed to a better man. Bishop Morton had, indeed, distinguished himself by the part which he had taken in the controversy against the Puritans; but it was a distinction which he had earned as much by a rare absence of acrimony as by the arguments upon which he relied. He was no mere courtier, like Neile. He had nothing of the domineering spirit of Laud. Almost alone amongst the controversialists of his day, he knew how to treat an adversary with respect. Above all, he was, in the fullest sense of the word, a good man. In early life he had shown what stuff he was made of, by the unremitting persistence of his visits to the pesthouse, when the plague was raging at York. On these occasions he forbade his servants to follow him amidst the infection, and carried on the crupper of his own horse the food which was to solace the wants of the sufferers. What he was

He applies for advice to Morton.

in his youth he continued to be till his death. Through a long and chequered career no poverty was borne so cheerfully, no wealth distributed so wisely and so bountifully, as that which fell to the lot of Thomas Morton.

It was but natural that Morton should be far from sharing the opinions of the Puritans on the subject now brought before him. He and those who thought with him were sure to deny the Sabbatical character of the Lord's Day. Their reverence for Church authority led them to shrink from tracing its institution higher than to the earliest Christian times, and their whole tone of mind was such as made them lay stress rather upon the due attendance upon public worship, in which Christians met together as an organized congregation, than upon the restraints which they might place upon themselves during the remainder of the day. When, not many years later, the poet whose verses are the mirror of the feelings and the sentiments of the school of divines to which Morton belonged, celebrated the joys and duties of the great Christian festival, it was in this key that all his thoughts were pitched.

Morton's opinion on the subject.

> "Sundays observe: think, when the bells do chime,
> 'Tis angels' music:"—

is the commencement of his exhortation. Through two whole pages he continues in a similar strain. Of behaviour out of church he has not a single word to say.[1]

Holding these views, Morton had little difficulty in perceiving what was best to be done. On the one hand, nothing should be permitted which might disturb the congregation during the hours of service. On the other hand, it must be left to every man's conscience to decide whether or no he would take part in the accustomed amusements after the service was at an end. No compulsion was to be used. If the Puritans could persuade their neighbours that the practices in question were sinful, they should have perfect liberty to do so. But further than that they were not to be allowed to go.[2]

His advice.

[1] Herbert's *Church Porch.* [2] Barwick's *Life of Morton*, 80.

With the exception of a clause by which the benefit of the liberty accorded was refused to all who had absented themselves from the service—a clause by which it was intended to strike a blow at recusancy, but which in reality bribed men to worship God by the alluring prospect of a dance in the afternoon—little objection would be taken to the general scope of the declaration which James founded upon Morton's recommendations.[1] If he had contented himself with leaving it behind him for the use of the Lancashire magistrates, it is probable that little more would have been heard about the matter.

The *Declaration of Sports* published in Lancashire.

But this would hardly have contented James. He had not been many months in London before he determined to publish, for the benefit of the whole kingdom, the declaration which had been called forth by the peculiar circumstances of Lancashire. In doing this, he hit upon a plan which was calculated to rouse the greatest possible amount of opposition. Instead of issuing a proclamation, or directing the Council to send round a circular letter to the Justices of the Peace, warning them not to allow themselves to be carried away by religious zeal to exceed their legal powers, he transmitted orders to the clergy to read the declaration from the pulpit. No doubt, in those days, the clergy were regarded far more than they are at present in the light of ministers of the Crown. Still James might have remembered that, by a large number amongst them, his declaration would be regarded

1618. Its extension to the rest of England.

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iv. 483. The most striking clause is the following:—"And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is that, after the end of Divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor for having of May-games, Whitsun-ales and morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of Divine service, and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to church for the decoring of it, according to their old custom. But withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only, as bear and bull baitings, interludes and (at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling."

as sheer impiety, and that there was that in their position which made it impossible to treat them as mere official dependents, bound to carry out, without a murmur, every order issued by superior authority.

Resistance of the clergy.

As might have been expected, symptoms of resistance showed themselves on every hand. Not a few amongst the Calvinist clergy, amongst whom, it is said, was the Archbishop of Canterbury himself,[1] made up their minds to refuse compliance, at any cost; and of those who consented to obey, there were some who determined to preach against the very declaration which they did not refuse to read, while a still greater number were sure to declaim in their private conversation against the principles of the document which, as a matter of public duty, they had brought before the notice of their congregations. James who, unlike his son and successor, was prudent enough to give way before so wide an expression of feeling, withdrew his order for the reading of the declaration.[2]

Prospects of the Church of England.

It was of good augury for the Church of England that during the first ten or twelve years of Abbot's primacy the ecclesiastical history of the country was almost totally barren of events. The proceedings of Laud at Gloucester, and of the Puritan magistrates in Lancashire, were sufficient to indicate the quarter from which danger might arise, but the very rareness of such occurrences gave reason to suppose that the terrible evil of an internecine quarrel between the two great Church parties might yet be averted. For the first time since the early days of the Reformation the Nonconformists were reduced to insignificance. There were no longer any voices raised loud enough to make themselves heard in favour of a change in the ritual of the Church. There were, for the first time, two parties opposed indeed in theology and in practice, but both declaring themselves to be ready to take their stand upon the Book of Common Prayer. What was of still more importance, there was no strong line of demarcation between them. Each party shaded off into the

[1] Wilson in *Kennet*, ii. 709. [2] Fuller's *Church History*, v. 452.

other. Amongst the laity especially, there was a large and increasing body which took no part with the fanatics on either side, but which was growing in piety and in moral progress under the influence of both. In their zeal for religion, these men had no intention of placing England under the yoke of a few clerical firebrands of any shade of opinion whatever.

If there had been any doubt as to the direction in which the current of public opinion was setting, it would have been cleared up by the reception which was accorded to the *History of Tithes*, a book which was published at the time when James was considering the propriety of giving a general circulation to the *Declaration of Sports*. The author of this book, which was distinguished by its thorough opposition to all ecclesiastical claims to civil authority, was John Selden, a lawyer of the Inner Temple, who, at the early age of thirty-four, had established the reputation of being the most learned man of the day. To a knowledge of the constitution and antiquities of his country, which even Coke could not venture to despise, he added a marvellous familiarity with the most recondite studies. He was as completely at home in the writings of the Jewish Rabbis and the capitularies of Charlemagne as he was in the works of the Fathers of the Church, or the classical masterpieces of Greece and Rome. The very names of the books which he had already published testified to the multifariousness of his knowledge. He had written on the early laws of England, on duels, on titles of honour, and on the religion of the ancient Syrians. But of these various subjects, there was none so thoroughly to his taste as that which he had now taken in hand. Of all men living, there was no one so completely imbued with the spirit which had animated the political leaders of the English Reformation. The supremacy of the civil power over all ecclesiastical causes and all ecclesiastical persons, was the cardinal point of his doctrine; and yet that supremacy was to him something very different from what it had been to Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. They had wished the State to be supreme, in order that they might enforce their own compromise upon opposing and irreconcileable parties. Selden knew that times were changed, and that

John Selden.

the parties into which the Church of England was in his day divided were no longer irreconcileable. He, therefore, wished to see the Royal Supremacy put forth with vigour, in order that it might allow liberty to all, whilst it kept in check every attempt at persecution from whatever quarter it might arise.

The form into which he threw his work was a curious one. He professed, with a modesty which deceived no one, that the question whether or not tithes were due by Divine right was above his comprehension. He left such high matters to churchmen and canonists. As for himself, he was a mere student of the common law, and he could not venture to express an opinion on questions so far above his sphere. All he wished to do was to state what the practice had actually been, not what it ought to have been. In spite of this modest commencement, he showed pretty well what his opinion was. He argued that there was no proof whatever that tithes had ever been claimed as of right during the first four hundred years of the Christian era ; and in treating of their subsequent history, he showed that the practices had been so various, and had been so completely subjected to local customs, and to the laws of the various European nations, that the payment had in reality been accepted by the clergy from the State with whatever limitations the civil authorities had chosen to impose.

1618. His *History of Tithes.*

It is evident that the book was of greater importance than its actual subject would indicate. It struck at all claims on the part of the clergy to fix limits to the power of the Legislature. It seemed to say to them :— "We, the laity of England, will not limit our powers at your demand. If you can persuade us that such and such things are in accordance with the will of God, you are at liberty to do so. As soon as we admit the force of your reasoning, we shall be ready to give effect to your arguments. If you claim a Divine right to money or obedience, irrespective of the laws of England, you must obtain what you ask from the voluntary consent of those from whom you require it. If you wish to have the assistance of pursuivants and judicial processes, you

Tendency of the book.

must acknowledge that whatever you get by these means proceeds from that authority by which such rough methods of compulsion are put in force."

Its reception by the clergy.

Selden's work was sure to be received by the clergy with a storm of indignation. They had never once doubted the Divine right which Selden had so quietly ignored; and they may well be excused if they saw in it the guarantee, not only of their own incomes, but of the very existence of the Church of England. They had good reason to put little faith in the tender mercies of statesmen. They remembered but too well how Raleigh had become possessed of the Manor of Sherborne, and how Hatton House had been lost to the see of Ely. It was no wonder, then, that James was besieged with supplications to come to the rescue of the Church. He does not seem, at first, to have taken any very great interest in the matter. After all, it was not his prerogative that was attacked. The book was published in April 1618. It was not till December that the author was summoned before the King. Nor was there anything alarming in the interview itself. James was always pleased to have a chat with a man of learning, and Buckingham, who was present, treated Selden with the utmost courtesy.[1] The King had something to talk about far more interesting than the Divine Right of Tithes. He wanted to hear Selden's opinion on the number of the Beast in the Revelation; and he was afraid, lest a passage in the book might be understood to countenance the opinion that the nativity of Christ did not occur upon December 25, an opinion which might be used with terrible effect by those who held that Christmas Day ought not to be observed at all. Selden promised to satisfy him on both these points, and went away well pleased with the impression which he had made.[2]

They appeal to the King.

The clergy were not so easily pacified, and James began to

[1] Selden to Sir E. Herbert, Feb. 3, 1619. This letter has recently been acquired by the British Museum, and is not yet catalogued; but it will eventually be found in one of the volumes of the *Add. MSS.*, between 32,091 and 32,096.

[2] Preface to Three Tracts, *Selden's Works*, iii. 1401.

think that, whether Selden were right or wrong, it would conduce to his own ease to stop their mouths. Without troubling himself any further about the merits of the case, he allowed the Court of High Commission to call upon Selden to sign a form of submission, in which he was to acknowledge his regret for having furnished any argument against the Divine Right of Tithes. Such a regret was, of course, wholely imaginary, and it is sad that a man like Selden should have set his hand to any allegation of the kind. Yet it was one which he was at least able to sign without any breach of consistency, as he had always declared that he had no intention of touching upon the question of Divine right at all. The prohibition by the Court of the sale of his book was probably felt by him as a severer blow.

1619. Selden's submission.

Worse than this, however, was in store for Selden. One after another his antagonists came forward with their answers to his book, claiming, in tones of defiance, the victory over the man whom they had silenced. Yet one thing was wanting to give them security. If Selden was prohibited from selling his original production, it was always possible that he might publish a new work in reply to their criticisms. It was not difficult to induce James to come forward in their defence. Selden was summoned once more before the King, and was told that whatever might be written against him, he must not presume to reply.[1]

He is forbidden to reply.

Selden's last word upon the subject was contained in a letter addressed to Buckingham. The favourite had been simple enough to ask him why he had so carefully abstained from pronouncing an opinion on the Divine right. His reply was a masterpiece of irony. In it he once more expressed his inability to cope with such intricate questions. Whatever conclusion he came to, he was sure to be in the wrong. If, after profound study, he were to convince himself that no such right existed, what sort of treatment must he expect from the King? If, on the other hand, he convinced himself that the right did exist, he

1620. Selden's letter to Buckingham.

[1] Extract from the Register of the High Commission Court.—*Biog. Brit.* Article, Selden; note K.

would be placing himself in direct opposition to the law, which exacted payment only in so far as was in accordance with its own rules, as well as in opposition to books formerly set forth by public authority, in which the doctrine was denounced amongst the errors of the Papists.[1]

Dangers of the future.

Whether the repose of the English Church would be broken by any disputes more serious than those which had lately engaged the attention, without exciting the animosities, of the nation, was the secret of the future. The history of human progress is closely connected with the history of human misery. It is in contact with the evils of the time that knowledge expands, and a new sensitiveness is acquired by the moral feelings. The course of morality, like the course of a river, is profoundly modified by the obstacles which bar its way. Like a mighty stream, after its escape from the iron portals of the hills, the current of English religious thought was now meandering at its own sweet will, forgetful of the fierce struggles in the midst of which it had been tortured into fanaticism, or cowed into subservience. Yet as the stream does not change its nature, but is as ready as ever to leap up into foam or to plunge into the abyss as soon as some other rocky barrier stretches across its path, so was it with English religion. Ten years of government in the hands of men like Laud would make nine-tenths of the earnest thinkers of the nation as fierce as were the men who had concocted the Marprelate libels. Ten years of government in the hands of men like the Puritan magistrates of Lancashire would drive the great majority of the English people into the warmest admiration for the system of Laud. Of such violent changes there was not much danger as long as James was alive. There was, however, a risk that the growth of that spirit of mutual toleration, which had been steadily on the increase, might receive a check, if any events upon the Continent should intervene to threaten a renewal of the strife with the Catholic powers, or above all, if James should, in an evil hour, refuse to abandon his wretched scheme of a Spanish marriage for his son, and should thereby implant more deeply in the hearts of his

[1] Selden to Buckingham, May 5, 1620, *Works*, iii. 1394.

Protestant subjects that distrust and suspicion of their Catholic neighbours which it should have been the object of a far-sighted ruler to allay.

Already an example had been given, in the Dutch Republic, of the violence with which the flames of religious faction may rage, when they are fanned by the well-meant but injudicious attempts of a Government to interfere with the natural current of opinion. It was not long since a protest had been raised by Arminius and his followers against the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. In the province of Holland, the new teaching had been eagerly welcomed by Barneveld and by the commercial oligarchy which had learned to look with jealousy upon the popularity of the clergy. Undoubtedly Barneveld's wish was to be tolerant ; but he thought that he had done enough for religious liberty in obtaining from the States of Holland an order that the rival theologians should abstain from controversy, and should live in mutual charity with one another. The compromise was joyfully accepted by the Arminians, who were the weaker party. By the Calvinists it was utterly rejected. Strong in popular sympathy, they thundered from a thousand pulpits against the new heresy, and refused to partake of the Eucharistic bread and wine in communion with its followers. The magistrates, ignorant that toleration, if it is worthy of its name, must give free scope even to folly and uncharitableness, retaliated by expelling these firebrands from their pulpits. The result was that, in many places, the supporters of a system which had taken root in the soil together with the Reformation itself, and which was still cherished with excessive devotion by the vast majority of the population, were either reduced to silence, or were driven to hold their assemblies by stealth in barns and farmhouses outside the walls of the towns.

Arminianism in Holland.

All eyes were turned upon Maurice. To him the proceedings of Barneveld were thoroughly distasteful ; yet he was in no hurry to interfere. For theology, indeed, he cared little ;[1]

[1] The story, however, that he did not know whether the Calvinists or the Arminians held the doctrine of predestination, is evidently a pure invention.

but he saw that the unwise course which Barneveld was pursuing was weakening the military strength of the Republic. At the same time he was not ignorant that a revolution, however successful, would be followed by injurious results. If Barneveld could have been brought to grant a real toleration, instead of one which was essentially one-sided and unjust, the catastrophe which followed would probably have been averted. It was only when the States of Holland ordered their contingent in the federal army to transfer its allegiance from the common government to themselves, and began to raise new levies in their own name, that Maurice overcame his reluctance to interfere. If such a course was permitted, it was plain that the unity of the Republic was at an end, and that it was a mere question of time when Leyden and Amsterdam would open their gates to receive a Spanish garrison.

Maurice at the head of the Calvinists.

The overthrow of Barneveld's power was easy,—easier, probably, than Maurice had expected. In a few days the leaders of the Arminians were in prison and their places were occupied by the devoted followers of the House of Nassau.

1618. The Revolution.

Thus far the revolution had been directed to justifiable objects. If Maurice's powers had been equal to the task before him, his name would have gone down to posterity surrounded by a glory as pure as that by which his father had been honoured. He was now, by his elder brother's death, Prince of Orange ; and the name which he inherited should have reminded him that there are higher duties than those which can be performed in the field. He might have reorganized the Republic. He might have become the founder of true religious liberty. But Maurice was utterly deficient in the qualities needed for such a task. He had done a soldier's work in a rough soldier's way. He could do no more; and he stood aside, whilst, under the shadow of his great name, violent and unscrupulous partisans committed acts by which his memory has been blackened for ever.

The hour of the Calvinist ministers was come. In the

spring of 1619 a national Synod met at Dort, to stamp with its authority the foregone conclusions of its members. Divines from all the Calvinist churches of the Continent took part in its deliberations. Even James sent deputies from England to sit upon its benches. The Arminians were summoned as culprits to the bar. Browbeaten and insulted, they were finally deprived of their offices. The States-General then came to the aid of the divines, and banished from the territory of the Republic those of the deprived ministers who refused to engage to abstain from preaching for the future.

1619. The Synod of Dort.

Even with this triumph the Calvinists were not content. Barneveld was dragged before a tribunal specially appointed for the purpose of trying him, and was accused of a treason of which he was as innocent as the wildest fanatic who had voted down Arminianism at Dort. Yet the temper of the dominant faction left him no hope of a fair hearing. Maurice, who had been led to believe that his antagonist was too dangerous to be spared, refused to interfere in his behalf; and, in his seventy-third year, the aged statesman was hurried to the scaffold, as a traitor to the Republic which he had done so much to save.

May $\frac{3}{13}$. Execution of Barneveld.

James had not been an unconcerned spectator of these events. For some time he had been profuse of advice; but not a word of the slightest practical use to either party had crossed his lips. He had declared strongly in favour of moderation, but he had recommended the convocation of the Synod which made moderation impossible. His theological sympathies were on the side of the Calvinists. If his political sympathies were on the side of Barneveld and the supporters of the claim of the civil government to control the clergy, they were neutralised by the recollection of frequent collisions with that statesman. He little thought that, before many years were passed, his son would be copying Barneveld's abortive scheme of seeking peace by the imposition of silence. Still less did he imagine that the revolution in Holland was but the precursor of a greater revolution in England.

Attitude of James.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BOHEMIAN REVOLUTION.

For some years men had been looking to the disputed succession in the duchies of Cleves and Juliers as the principal danger to European peace. In reality, the seeds of disaster had been sown unnoticed in the hereditary dominions of the Emperor. Those dominions had been brought together by a long succession of princes. The fortunate marriages of the House of Austria had long passed into a proverb, and there are probably many who still accept the satirical distich [1] which affirms that Austria has received from Venus what others owe to Mars, as a sufficient explanation of the strange fortune which has piled so many crowns upon the heads of the descendants of Rudolph of Hapsburg.

As a matter of fact, however, for two centuries and a half the work of dissolution went on as rapidly as that of annexation. It was in vain that one archduke after another wedded in turn the heiress of each neighbouring duchy or kingdom. The repulsion between rival districts and rival races was too strong to be overcome, and it was rarely that the second generation did not see the tie broken, and the work of union for a time undone.

The Turkish wars.

What dynastic ambition was unable to accomplish was effected at once by the fear of the Turkish power. After the terrible defeat of Mohacs in 1526, Hungary and Bohemia threw themselves into the arms of Ferdi-

[1] "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube :
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."

nand I.; and, as long as the conflict lasted, they remained, on the whole, faithful to his successors. It was not till the peace of Sitva Torok, in 1606, that the terror of a Turkish conquest abated; and scarcely was the ink dry upon the treaty, when the commotions which preceded the deposition of Rudolph II. gave an unmistakeable sign that the light bond which had held the various races together for eighty years, was being strained to the utmost.

Attitude of the House of Austria towards the Protestants.

The fear of the janissaries, which had made the Archduke of Austria King of Hungary and Bohemia, had also made him Emperor. In both capacities he was brought face to face with the Protestantism of his subjects. In the conflict which awaited him as soon as he should have assured his eastern frontier from invasion, he could hardly take any other side than that of which Charles V. had constituted himself the champion. It was not merely by their Spanish blood, and by the memories of the ancient connection of the Roman See with the great office which they held, that the descendants of Ferdinand I. were driven, sometimes almost against their will, into the arms of the Catholic clergy. In their own peculiar domains, as well as in the Empire, they found themselves engaged in a lifelong contest with a Protestant aristocracy; and in the discipline of the Roman Church they grasped the lever by which they hoped to shake to the foundations the strongholds of their rivals.

Protestantism in the Austrian dominions.

It was the misfortune of the Protestantism which sprang into existence in the dominions of the House of Austria, that its fate was intimately united with that of an anarchical aristocracy. Nowhere in Europe had the Protestant clergy so little influence. No Austrian Calvin or Knox, not even a Latimer or a Ridley, had sprung into existence. The Bohemian Confession of Faith stands alone amongst the countless Confessions of the sixteenth century, as the work of a body composed entirely of laymen. That amongst those vast populations there were thousands whose faith was sincere, cannot be doubted for a moment. That little band of mediæval Puritans, the Bohemian Brothers, had long submitted to an iron discipline; and, in the midst of

trials and persecutions, had proved their constancy long before the name of Protestantism had been heard of. There were large numbers of Lutherans, who, when the day of trial came, proved their attachment to their creed by submitting to poverty and exile for its sake ; and there were still larger numbers who handed down their faith in secret to their children, to burst forth once more when the edict of toleration was issued by Joseph II. Nor is it possible to estimate how far religion may have exercised its influence upon the hearts even of those who had adopted it as the watchword of a political party. Yet, when every allowance has been made, the dispassionate inquirer, however badly he may think of the religious system by which Protestantism was superseded in these territories, can hardly do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was in the main supported.[1]

To the great feudal families the adoption of the new religion had commended itself as the readiest way of shaking off the supremacy of the Crown. It gave them, upon their own estates, all the power which had been assumed by the German princes within their territories. It enabled them to seize Church property by force or fraud, and to trample at pleasure upon the wishes and feelings of their serfs. It annihilated the authority of the sovereign and of the clergy, to the sole profit of the landowner.

Nor would the evil results of the victory of the aristocracy have ended here. Entailing, as it would necessarily have done, the dissolution of the ties which bound German Austria to Hungary and Bohemia, it would have thrown the whole of Eastern Europe into confusion, and would have reopened the road into the heart of Germany to the Mussulman hordes.

If aristocratical Protestantism had been able to organize itself anywhere, it would have been in Bohemia. Cut off by

[1] Those who wish to know what crimes a great man in Bohemia might be guilty of without punishment, should read the story of Rudolph's natural son, Julius, as told by Gindely, *Rudolf II.*, ii. 337. It is only superficially that the cause of the Estates of Bohemia against Ferdinand resembled the cause of the English Parliament against Charles I.

a wall of mountains from Germany, and in a great measure separated by race from their western neighbours, the Bohemians ought to have formed a compact national body, able to resist all attempts to force upon them a religion which they detested. Once already they had shown the world of what efforts a thoroughly aroused nation is capable; but that had been in the days which had long passed by—when rich and poor had gathered in brotherly union round the cup, as the symbol of equality before God. The gigantic cups still held their places outside the churches to which they had been elevated by a past generation. To be an Utraquist was still the official designation of a Protestant. But the spirit of the old Utraquism had succumbed with its doctrines; and whatever enthusiasm might be excited by the new Lutheranism which had too often been nothing more than the cloak beneath which the landowners had thrown off all authority in Church and State, it was certain that it was very different from the wild fanaticism which had enabled the followers of Ziska and Procopius to scatter the Imperial hosts of Sigismund like chaff before the wind.[1]

The Bohemian aristocracy.

The revolution which overthrew the tottering throne of Rudolph II. had been a golden opportunity alike for the Protestants and the aristocracy. By the royal charter which was extorted from the falling monarch, complete liberty of conscience was accorded to every Bohemian, from the noble to the serf, who adhered either to the Bohemian Confession of 1575, or who belonged to the Society of the Bohemian Brothers; though, as in England, liberty of conscience was not held to imply liberty of worship. In the royal towns, indeed, and on the royal domains, both Catholics and Protestants might build as many churches as they pleased. But the Bohemian aristocracy would indeed have changed its nature, if they had proclaimed upon their own estates the freedom which they forced upon the King. There they were still to be the masters; and they would take good care that

1609. The Royal Charter of Bohemia.

[1] See the remarks of Gindely, *Geschichte der Ertheilung des Lobmischen Majestätsbriefes*, 116.

their serfs and dependents should not be admitted to the exercise of a religion which was not to the taste of their lords.

This settlement, which was confirmed by Matthias when, by the expulsion of his brother Rudolph, he ascended the throne of Bohemia, was without any of the elements of permanency. In many respects, the principle adopted was similar to that which, for more than half a century, had prevailed in Germany. But there was one important difference. The German princes had virtually become territorial sovereigns, and had taken upon themselves the duties with the responsibilities of sovereignty. The Bohemian nobles were still landowners and nothing more. Their estates were too small, and Constantinople was too near, to render feasible a change in their position which would place them on an equal footing with an elector of Saxony or a landgrave of Hesse. A king of Bohemia must still be retained, and the actual king was one who was far more opposed to the nobility than James II. was to the English people in 1688, or Charles X. was to the French people in 1830.

Its insufficiency.

Such a state of things could not last. Either the nobility would set aside the king, or the king would beat down the nobility. At first sight, the former contingency might have appeared to be unavoidable. Three-fourths of the population, and all the military forces of the kingdom, were at the disposal of the Protestants. They could count on the warm sympathy, if not upon the active aid, of the great landowners in all the other states of which the dominions of their sovereign were composed. All this would avail them little unless they could ripen in a moment into wise and forecasting statesmen, and could bow their heads to the stern yoke of discipline and self-denial by which nations are founded—unless, in a word, men with all, and more than all, the failings of the English cavaliers could learn at once to display the virtues of the burghers of Leyden and the Ironsides of Cromwell.

Approaching revolution.

They had already chosen the field of battle upon which the conflict was to be waged. In popular language, the Church lands, which were still held by the Catholic bishops and abbots, were considered as the property of the Crown. This

interpretation had been accepted by all parties at the time of the drawing up of the law which guaranteed the details of the new arrangements introduced by the royal charter. The clergy continued to hold a different opinion, and maintained that they had as much right to regulate the religious worship of their own territories as any of the temporal magnates.

This view of their position, in which the strictly legal use of terms was adopted in preference to the popular, received the hearty support of Matthias,[1] to whom the question was indeed of vital importance, from a political as well as from a religious point of view. The ecclesiastical domains were almost the last supports on which his throne rested; and to be deprived of them was tantamount to surrendering his crown at once to the nobility.

Question of freedom of worship in the Church lands.

In 1617, a golden opportunity was offered to the Bohemians of fighting their battle on favourable ground. The Emperor Matthias and his brothers were alike childless, and the Princes of the House had fixed upon his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, as the fittest person to be entrusted with the united inheritance of the family. Ferdinand was accordingly presented to the Estates for acceptance as their future king.

1617. Candidature of Ferdinand of Styria.

The terms in which the proposition was couched were

[1] On this subject Professor Gindely (*Rudolf II.*, i. 354) has retracted his former opinion, and now cites the evidence of Slawata to the effect that the agreement consequent upon the royal charter was understood at the time to leave the ecclesiastical domains in the same position as those held by the King, and consequently open to Protestant worship. From this he deduces the conclusion that the Protestants were at least technically in the right. But though the Catholics who assented to this agreement are put out of court, it does not follow that Matthias, who was not king at the time, had not a sustainable case in arguing that he was not bound to travel beyond the four corners of the law. If a strictly legal interpretation did not make the Bishops' lands equivalent to Crown lands, he might well hold that he had nothing to do with the views of the individuals who composed the Diet. The whole case turns upon the interpretation of an agreement which had the force of law. That the royal charter itself favoured the case of the Protestants is a pure delusion.

sufficient to show that the throne was now claimed by hereditary right, and an attempt to postpone the Diet, with the object of proceeding to an election of some other candidate, failed signally before the overwhelming evidence adduced in favour of the doctrine that, excepting in the event of a failure of heirs, the crown of Bohemia was hereditary and not elective.[1] It is true that in the midst of the confusions incident to the last revolution, Matthias himself had been elected, and Rudolph, glad enough to say or do anything which might in any way affect the position of the brother whom he detested, had acknowledged the crown to have passed to him in right of this election. But so plain was it that constitutional usage was on the other side, that the great majority of the Protestant members of the Diet agreed to accept Ferdinand as their king.

Yet powerful as the force of argument had been, it seems strange that no attempt was made to settle the question of the ecclesiastical lands. The dispute had been on foot for years, and it was evident that unless the opportunity were seized for coming to an understanding on the question, it would survive as a standing cause of discord between the nation and its king.

The Bohemians could have been under no misapprehension of the character and intentions of Ferdinand. The friend and pupil of the Jesuits, he had already gained an evil reputation for intolerance, which was even worse than he deserved.

Character of Ferdinand.

In fact, it was hard to form a clear conception of the views and opinions of such a man, in the very midst of the contest in which he was involved. Even now his distinct place in the scale which leads from the unquestioning intolerance of men like our Henry V., to the large tolerance of men like William III., has still to be recognised. Step by step, as each generation took its place upon the stage, the political aspect of ecclesiastical disputes presented itself more vividly to the minds of

[1] An exhaustive examination of this point, with a full account of the debates in this Diet, will be found in Professor Gindely's paper in the *Proceedings of the Historical and Philosophical Class of the Vienna Academy for* 1859

the representative men of the age, whilst the theological aspect was gradually dropping out of sight. The place of Ferdinand is to be found midway between Philip II. and Richelieu. To the Spaniard of the sixteenth century, Protestantism was still an odious heresy, which, if it were allowed to spread, might perhaps be injurious to the supremacy of the Spanish Monarchy, but which was chiefly to be abominated as tainting the religious faith of Christians. By the Frenchman of the seventeenth century it was regarded entirely from a political point of view. Ferdinand would have sympathised with neither. To him Protestantism was hateful, but rather as a source of moral and political disorder than as a spiritual poison.[1]

His education.

It could not well have been otherwise. When he passed as a boy from his own distracted land into Bavaria, where he was to receive his education from the Jesuits of Ingolstadt, the language of the Catholic reaction must have seemed to him almost like a Divine revelation. At Munich he saw an orderly and well-regulated government walking hand in hand with an honoured clergy. At home he knew that every landowner was doing what was right in the sight of his own eyes. To him the religious condition of the Austrian territories must have appeared even more anarchical than it really was. Doubtless a Protestant ruler of ability might have succeeded in reducing the chaos to order, and in beating down the arrogance of the nobles without crushing the faith of the people. But such a course was impossible for Ferdinand. He knew of but one fountain of justice and order—the Church of Rome.

To a lifelong struggle against that which was in his eyes the root of all evil, Ferdinand devoted himself by a pilgrimage to Loretto. Yet it would be wrong to speak of him as an ordi-

[1] "So lange," he wrote to his sister in 1597, "die Prädicanten walten, ist nichts als Aufruhr und Unrath zu erwarten, wie man es da, wo sie geduldet werden, täglich erfahren kann." Quoted from the MS. at Vienna by Hurter. *Geschichte Ferdinands II.*, iii. 410. In his will drawn up in 1621, he charges the guardians of his son to banish from the land all heretical doctrines. "Woraus Ungehorsam und Schwierigkeit der Unterthanen entspringt."

nary persecutor. He never put himself forward as a general extirpator of heresy. He never displayed any personal animosity against heretics. His own nature was kindly and forgiving, and he was, by disposition, inclined to peace. The motto which he chose for himself, "For those who strive lawfully," [1] displays his own measure of the work which he had undertaken. The champion of the law, he would observe the law himself. Whatever he had sworn to his own hurt he would execute; but whatever rights the law gave him he would unflinchingly maintain. No unintelligible theories about the rights of conscience should weigh with him for an instant. If Protestants could prove that the letter of the law was on their side, he would be the first to support them in their demands. If they had nothing but its spirit to appeal to, he would be the first to close his ear to them. His orderly and resolute mind was thoroughly narrow. One side of the great question of the day was the only one which he was able to see. Rights which were clear enough to others were no rights at all to him. In maintaining his position he was as fearless as he was incapable of doubt. When called upon to face a raging multitude, he would be as calm as if he were standing in the midst of a circle of devoted friends. For the statesman's task of balancing opposing duties he was altogether unfitted. When complicated questions forced themselves upon him, the undaunted champion of the Church sunk at once into a perplexed and vacillating politician.

His pilgrimage to Loretto.

If there was any one principle more generally accepted in Germany than another, it was that which accorded to the Princes the right of regulating the religious affairs of their own dominions. Ferdinand, therefore, who had inherited from his father the Duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, had no sooner grasped the reins of government firmly in his hands than he proceeded to proscribe Protestantism in his dominions by offering to his subjects the choice between conversion and exile. The ease with which the change was effected would seem to indicate that

His treatment of the Protestants in his hereditary states.

[1] *Legitimè certantibus.*

Protestantism had not any very deep hold upon the hearts of the mass of the population.

Such was the man who had been accepted by the Bohemians as their future king. He had, it is true, sworn to observe the royal charter, and there is no reason to doubt that he would have scrupulously kept his promise. But the Bohemian Protestants must have been very ignorant or very simple if they imagined that he would accept their interpretation of the law, and acknowledge that it guaranteed to them the right of building churches upon the ecclesiastical lands.

The right of church-building in Bohemia.

As might have been expected, the Catholics derived new courage from the election. At Braunau, before the end of the year, the Abbot brought his long struggle with the townsmen to a close by locking the doors of the Protestant church in the faces of the congregation. At Klostergrab a church built upon the domains of the see of Prague was pulled down by order of the Archbishop.

The news was received with indignation by the Protestant nobility. The men who had done nothing and had foreseen nothing when action and foresight would have availed them, burst into fury at what was, after all, only the natural result of their own conduct. They flocked to Prague to discuss their grievances in common with the representatives of the towns. Matthias wrote to them from Vienna, assuming the responsibility of all that had been done,[1] and ordering them to suspend their meetings for a time. The deputies of the towns now, as always, hesitating in their opposition to the Sovereign by whom their commercial interests were protected against the encroachments of the aristocracy,[2] were inclined to obey the mandate ; but the nobles were unwilling to draw back. Armed with pistols, and followed by an excited mob, the Protestant leaders, with Count Thurn at their

1618. The Bohemian Revolution.

[1] This letter is quoted in the *First Apology of the Bohemians.*

[2] In the revolution which tore the greater part of his dominions from Rudolph, the Moravian towns, Protestant as they were, hung back. So, too, we shall see the German towns long continuing Imperialist in the ensuing war.

head, made their way to the chamber where the Board of Regency, to which the government had been entrusted in the absence of Matthias, held its sittings. After a fierce altercation they seized Martinitz and Slawata, to whose counsels they attributed the prohibition of their assembly, and dragging them, together with the equally unpopular secretary Fabricius, to the window, hurled them out from a height of little less than eighty feet. By a strange fortune, which pious Catholics have been accustomed to attribute to the interposition of Him without whose permission a sparrow does not fall to the ground, the three victims were able to crawl away from the spot on which they fell, and not a single life was lost.

It was a wild deed of vengeance, for which precedents culled from Bohemian history could form no justification. Yet for the moment it placed the rioters in possession of Bohemia. In a few days, after what was technically called the 'defenestration,' the Estates had named thirty Directors to administer the government in their name, had ordered a levy of troops to defend their privileges, and had expelled the Jesuits from the country.

After this the outbreak of hostilities could not long be postponed. Troops were sent by the Directors to reduce Budweis and Pilsen, two Catholic cities which had resisted the authority of the Estates. Matthias could do no less than send assistance to those who had remained faithful to him ; and, in the beginning of August, Bucquoi, a general who had been summoned from Brussels to take the command of the Imperial forces, crossed the frontier of Bohemia.[1]

Commencement of hostilities.

Meanwhile Matthias was looking round in every direction for help ; but the prostration of Austrian rule was so complete that the Catholic powers shrunk from involving themselves in its ruin. In Hungary, in Silesia, in Moravia, in Austria itself, the nobility was almost entirely Protestant. The Duke of Bavaria, the politic Maximilian, refused to stir. The Spanish

[1] Breyer, *Geschichte des 30 Jährigen Kriegs*, 120. A continuation of Wolf's *Maximilian I.*, and frequently quoted under that writer's name.

Government sent a paltry sum of a hundred thousand ducats,[1] and talked of sending two hundred thousand more.[2] If the German Protestants had been unanimous in the support of Bohemia, the huge bulk of the dominions of the German branch of the House of Austria, honeycombed as it was with disaffection, would have broken up from its own inherent weakness.

Feeling in Germany.

That the Bohemians, on the other hand, would be likely to meet with any general sympathy in Germany, was far from probable. Two different tendencies of thought had been the moving agents of the men of the past century, and their influences were still living. On the one hand, there had been the spirit of religious fellowship, the conviction that identity of creed formed the strongest bond of union, and that all men were called upon to suffer and to act on behalf of their co-religionists in every part of the world. On the other hand, there had been the belief in the divine authority of Government against intriguing priests and presbyters, and the conviction that rebellion was in itself an evil. In the first years of the seventeenth century these two views of life each found a support in one of the great parties into which German Protestantism was divided. Theological opposition to Rome formed the strength of Calvinism, whilst Lutheranism was the creed of those who regarded religion in its more secular aspect.

The Elector of Saxony.

At the head of the Lutheran states stood John George, Elector of Saxony. Spending his days in the hunting-field, and his evenings in deep carouses, from which he seldom retired sober, he had neither time nor inclination for intellectual culture. If he hated anything at all it was the turmoil of war, and the feverish excitement of Calvinism. The politics of his family had long been Imperialist. It was by the favour of one emperor that his great uncle, Maurice, had become an elector. It was by the favour

[1] Equivalent to 25,000*l.* English money.

[2] Oñate to Philip III., Sept. $\frac{14}{24}$ 1618, *Simancas MSS.* 2503, fol. 148. Despatch of Khevenhüller, cited by Hurter, *Geschichte Ferdinands II.*, vii. 334.

of another emperor that his brother and himself had prosecuted their claims to the Duchy of Cleves. Yet sluggish and improvident as he was in political matters, it would be unfair to speak of his imperialism as if it had been altogether personal and selfish. It resulted in part from the old feeling of attachment to the time-honoured institutions of the Empire, and in part from the belief that in them might be found a shelter against the anarchy which appeared likely to set in, if nothing better than the law of the strongest was to be invoked in the disputes which might from time to time arise between the members of the Empire.

Strength of Lutheran opinion.

Nor did John George stand alone in the support which he gave to the Emperor. Wherever anarchy was feared, a public opinion was forming which, if only the religious rights of the Protestants could be placed under an adequate safeguard, would have borne the wearer of the Imperial crown on to an authority which his predecessors had not known for many a year. The dismal results of the weakness of Rudolph and Matthias had not been without fruit. Men were tired of hearing that German soil had been harried by foreign soldiers, and that German towns were garrisoned by Dutch or Spanish troops. They were tired, too, of the perpetual threats and rumours of war, and there could be little doubt that an Emperor who could do justice to Catholic and Protestant alike, would have won all hearts to his standard. The notion that the Electors and Princes of the Empire were but vassals of the Emperor, still retained its vitality, and under favourable circumstances might have once more impressed itself upon the history of the nation.[1]

Its weakness.

Yet, strong as this feeling was, there was room for other considerations by its side. In remembering the rights of princes and states, the Lutheran ran no slight risk of forgetting the rights of human beings. If by no

[1] It is a source of great confusion whenever it is assumed that the view taken of the relation between the Emperor and the Empire at this time was the same as that taken in the eighteenth century, though it is true that the ideas of the Palatine party were manifestly tending that way, if they had not already reached the point afterwards gained.

other means it was possible to prevent the desolation of the soil, and the never-ending slaughter of defenceless citizens in the name of religion, it might perhaps be necessary to look on whilst the master of each territory moulded the religious worship of his subjects at his pleasure. But it was a heavy price to pay for civil order; and anyone who could have struck out a more comprehensive theory would have deserved well of his contemporaries.

Policy of the Calvinists.

Unhappily the southern princes, who, with Frederick V., the young Elector Palatine, at their head, formed the main body of the Union, were not the men to give popularity to their revolt against the merely legal settlement which found favour with the Lutherans of the North. It was not amongst them that the great principles of religious liberty were likely to dawn upon the world. Wedged in between Catholic Bavaria and the Franconian bishoprics on the one side, and the states of the Rhenish bishops on the other, they lived in constant apprehension of danger. Calvinists from sheer antagonism to their neighbours, their talk was ever of war. Schemes of aggression, which would have revolted the common sense of Northern Germany, and which it was necessary carefully to conceal from the merchants of the cities of the South, were lightly talked of by these princes. It was in Heidelberg and Cassel that the idea had originated of calling upon the King of France to dictate terms to Germany at his pleasure, and it was at Heidelberg and Cassel that the warmest support was given to any plan which would reduce the power of the Emperor to the most complete insignificance, whilst no thought was ever wasted on the more difficult task of discovering an authority by which the legitimate action of the abased monarch might be replaced. Over the fortunes of men who were steering straight towards anarchy, the youthful Frederick was most unfitted to preside. Too thoughtful to allow the world's courses to pass unheeded by him, and too much in earnest to be restrained from sacrificing himself for that which he conceived to be the good of his people and his Church, he was utterly deficient in the wisdom which alone can guide great enterprises to a successful end. Exposed by the position of his straggling territory

The Elector Palatine.

to an attack from Catholic states on every side, and knowing that as a Calvinist, he was not covered by the letter of the treaty of Augsburg, he had grown up with the thought of possible war ever present to his mind. He never forgot that he might one day have to fight in defence of those luxuriant vineyards whose productiveness filled with astonishment even Italians acquainted with the rich Lombard plain, and of the proud castle which looked down upon the rushing stream of the Neckar. In the constant prospect of war, he grew impatient of the restraints of peace. His feeble intellect shed but a flickering and uncertain light upon the path which stretched out into the dark future before him. He was easily elated and easily depressed. Conscious of his weakness, he was now drifting helplessly along under the guidance of one whose will was stronger than his own. The ruler of the hour was Christian of Anhalt, whose eagerness to strike down the hated Austrian family was unrestrained by any consideration of prudence or morality.

The characters of the two Electors were thrown into the strongest light by the reception which they severally gave to the news of the Bohemian revolution. The Elector of Saxony showed the utmost anxiety to maintain peace. To one who asked him what he meant to do, he replied simply, "Help to put out the fire." His offer of mediation was thankfully accepted by Matthias, and for some time he was able to flatter himself that he would receive the support of the Elector Palatine.

The Saxon offer of mediation.

The peace of Germany hung upon the decision of Frederick. Unfortunately, the question was one upon which anyone might have gone astray, and upon which Frederick was more likely to go astray than anyone else. It is true that to a revolution in Bohemia and in Austria, which would have followed the example of the Dutch revolution in the preceding century, no real objection could be brought; and, if there were the least chance of producing such a result, it would be far better to assist the Bohemians to total independence than to patch up an agreement with Matthias which was hardly likely to last. Of the difficulties in the way of a settlement of this character, Frederick was, unhappily, in

Frederick's want of plan.

complete ignorance. Of the obstacles opposed by the character and the institutions of Bohemia he knew nothing. Still more fatally ignorant was he that, unless he could gain the good-will of Saxony, he would himself be powerless, and that any assistance which he might be able to give would be more than counterbalanced by the opposition of those who dreaded rebellion in any shape as the prelude to universal confusion. On the whole there can be little doubt that it would have been his best policy to seek a close alliance with John George. The maintenance of religious liberty in Bohemia under the guarantee of Protestant Germany, would no doubt have left room for future troubles. But it was evidently attainable at the time, and any approximation between the Courts of Heidelberg and Dresden would have been fraught with beneficent results for the whole of Germany. That such a guarantee would not have been given in vain is proved by the amount of religious liberty retained in Silesia, even after the catastrophe of 1620, through the interposition of Saxony alone.

His wild designs.

Errors of judgment, however, are too common in political life to justify any serious complaint so far against Frederick and his advisers. The really unpardonable offence which they committed was, that in the face of the gravest difficulty which any German prince had ever been called upon to solve, they dared to look upon the troubles in Bohemia as a band of pilferers might look upon a fire in the streets, which, however serious it may be to others, is to them a good opportunity for filling their pockets at the expense of the sufferers and spectators.

The proposals of the Duke of Savoy.

To do Frederick justice, he was not the leader in the evil path into which he suffered himself to be dragged by his associates. He had given the Elector of Saxony reason to understand that he was ready to join in the proposed mediation, and it would be the grossest injustice to doubt that he had the good of Germany and Bohemia at heart. But in July, an enticing proposal[1] reached him from

[1] Wake to the King, July 13, *Letters and other documents illustrating the relations between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War*, 4. This collection, edited by me for the Camden Society, will be quoted as *Letters and Documents*.

that arch intriguer, the Duke of Savoy, who happened to have two thousand men in Germany under the command of the Count of Mansfeld, a soldier of fortune, who had been driven by personal insults to forsake the Spanish service, and who had, accordingly, vowed implacable enmity against the House of Austria. The Duke had originally levied these men for service in Italy against Spain ; but, as peace had been signed, he had no further use for them, and now offered, for the sake of the influence which he might gain in Germany, to continue to pay them, if the Princes of the Union were willing to take them into their service. He had no doubt, he added, that the Venetians would be ready to advance large sums of money, and that the Elector would thus be able to appear at the head of an imposing force in the spring.

For a time, Frederick hung back ; but the prospect was too seducing to be long resisted. Christian of Anhalt was beside himself with joy. Already he was witnessing in imagination the dismemberment of the dominions of the House of Austria : the only question in his mind was how the spoil was to be divided. At one time it was arranged that the Duke of Savoy was to be Emperor, and that Frederick was to be King of Bohemia. The ecclesiastical princes were to be stripped of their dominions. Then there was a change of plan. The Duke thought that he would like to keep Bohemia for himself : Frederick should be King of Hungary. He might, if he pleased, annex Alsace to the Palatinate ; if events were favourable, he might even lay claim to some portions of Austria.[1] At first these schemes were kept from Frederick's knowledge ; but he soon grew accustomed to listen to them without showing any distaste. That they were not at once rejected goes far to explain the reluctance of the Elector of Saxony to be found in close alliance with the Calvinist Prince. It was this also which furnished Ferdinand with an excuse, unhappily too valid, for looking down from the height of his moral superiority upon Protestantism, as if it were only another name for selfishness and unprincipled ambition.

[1] Londorp, *Acta Publica*, iii. 596-621. I suppose the portions of Austria referred to are the scattered territories in Swabia.

The preparations for mediation were not completed for many months after the revolution at Prague. At the Emperor's request, the names of the Elector of Mentz and of the Duke of Bavaria had been added to those of the two Protestant Electors.

The four mediators.

One at least of the mediators was doing his best to make mediation impossible. Not venturing to speak out plainly his opinion on the prospects of peace, Frederick was continuing, to all outward appearance, his good offices in co-operation with the Elector of Saxony, at the same time that, with the strictest injunctions to secrecy, he sent Mansfeld to the assistance of the revolutionary chiefs. Whatever the ultimate effect of such duplicity might be, the immediate result was favourable to the Bohemian cause. Pilsen was taken, and the Imperialists were driven back on every side. Before the end of the year, Budweis was the only place in Bohemia remaining in the hands of the soldiers of Matthias. Heated by these successes, and still more by the hope of further support from Heidelberg, the Directors had become more than ever averse to any terms short of complete independence.

Successes of the Bohemians.

It was only natural that the events which were passing in Bohemia should engage the earnest attention of the Spanish ministers. Their sympathies, religious and political, urged them to place at once their whole force at the disposal of the Emperor. But their poverty was great. How desperate the condition of the monarchy was, is best known from the celebrated report[1] which was at this time in course of preparation by the Council of Castile. Lerma had recently been driven from power by a palace intrigue, in which his own son, the Duke of Uzeda, had taken part with Aliaga, the King's confessor. He was now in retirement, enjoying, under the shadow of a cardinal's hat, the illgotten wealth which he had amassed during his years of office. The opportunity was seized by the prudent statesmen whose presence at the Council alone preserved the monarchy from ruin, to call the

The condition of Spain.

[1] Lafuente, *Historia de España*, xv. 481. Compare the notices in the *Relazioni Venete*. Spagna.

King's attention to the miserable condition of the country. The population of the Castiles, they said, was decreasing every day. The taxes were so heavy that it was impossible to pay them. The landowners were absentees, living at Court, and careless of the misery of their dependents. Money had been squandered with unheard-of profusion by the King. The courtiers alone were enriched. The expenses of the royal household exceeded by two-thirds the sum which had sufficed for the wants of Philip II. Impediments were thrown in the way of the sale of the produce of the soil, and of its carriage to market. Finally, the number of the monasteries was out of all proportion to the population, and was increasing every day.

Nothing was done in consequence of this representation. The men who succeeded Lerma were busily imitating his example by filling their own purses, and had no time to think about the misery of the people; but the knowledge that such a state of things existed could not fail in influencing the decision of the Government when it was called upon to engage in a long and expensive war.[1]

Anxiety of the Government.

Above all, it made them anxious to know what would be the course which England would adopt. For, whatever Castilian pride might suggest, they knew well enough that to engage in a maritime contest with England, at the same time that they were keeping on foot large armies on the Danube and in Flanders, would tax the resources of the monarchy to the uttermost. Accordingly, Cottington, now again agent at Madrid, during Digby's absence in England, was asked to convey to James the assurance that his good offices in the Bohemian quarrel would readily be accepted by the King of Spain.[2] At the same time, Lafuente,[3] Gondomar's confessor, was despatched to England, to support Sanchez in securing a hold on the mind of James, and to tempt him to offer his mediation in Germany, by the assurance of Philip's readiness to go on with the marriage treaty.

Proposed mediation of James.

[1] Cottington to Lake, June 25, 1618, *Letters and Documents*, 3.

[2] Naunton's Notes, Sept. 10, 1618, *ibid.* 13.

[3] Commonly known in England as the Padre Maestro, which is something like calling a man "His Reverence" as a proper name.

Lafuente had his first audience on September 24, the day after Cottington's despatch arrived. He found James in a thoroughly good humour, anxious to see the marriage accomplished, not ashamed to season his conversation with indecent jests, and never able to speak highly enough of Gondomar to satisfy himself.[1] James's reply to the request conveyed through Cottington was all that Lafuente could desire.

His reply.

The English agent at Madrid was directed to say that, if it were true, as the Bohemians alleged, that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their lives and property from massacre and spoliation, it was impossible that the King of England could leave them to destruction. He would prefer, however, to see peace established, and he would therefore joyfully take upon himself the proposed mediation.[2]

His policy compared with that of the Elector of Saxony.

In short, the policy of James was the same as that of the Elector of Saxony. Resembling one another in character and position, the two men agreed in looking with favour upon the appeal of the Bohemians for help against religious persecution, and in disliking any popular movement which bore the slightest semblance of rebellion.

Yet, whatever his policy may have been, James should have remembered that his position was very different from that of the Elector of Saxony. It was not on his personal qualities that the right of John George to be listened to in the Bohemian dispute was founded. He was a Prince of the Empire. He was the nearest neighbour of the territory where the dispute had arisen. He was well acquainted with the characters of the leaders on both sides. His religion made him the natural ally of one party; his politics made him the natural ally of the other. He could bring into the field no inconsiderable force of his own, and it was probable that his influence would enable him, if not to dispose of, at least to neutralise, the whole strength of the north of Germany.

[1] Lafuente to Philip III. Oct. $\frac{2}{12}$. Lafuente to Gondomar, Oct. $\frac{2}{12}$, *Madrid Palace Library*.

[2] Cottington to Naunton, Sept. 17. Buckingham to Gondomar, Sept. 30, 1618, *ibid.*, 9, 13.

All this was wanting to James. He was far from the scene of action, and he was ignorant alike of the nature of the quarrel, and of the character of the disputants. What was scarcely of less consequence, with no standing army at his disposal, and no surplus in his exchequer, James would be unable to exercise any appreciable influence over the course of events in the centre of the Continent. If the two Protestant Electors were agreed, they could carry out their views without his aid. If they were at variance, his help would hardly enable either of them to dispose of the fortunes of Germany.

Danger of Spanish intervention.

If the evil consequences of James's acceptance of the proposed mediation had been limited to the expenditure of some 20,000*l.* in a bootless embassage, no one but himself would have had any right to complain. Unhappily this was not the case. The interest which the Spanish Government took in the affairs of Bohemia, made it highly probable that Philip would sooner or later send succours to his kinsman ; and though, even then, it would hardly be wise, in a cause in which German opinion was hopelessly divided, to give the signal for a war which would wrap the whole of the Continent in flames, it could never be either right or prudent to smooth the way for the intervention of Spain in the affairs of Germany. That the acceptance of the mediation, without obtaining a guarantee of the neutrality of Spain, was almost tantamount to an invitation to Philip to persevere in his interference was evident to all who chose to think about the matter.

Attempts to induce James to break with Spain.

Whilst James was taking this affair into consideration, the excitement in England against everything Spanish, which had manifested itself at the time of Raleigh's execution, had not at all subsided, and James was constantly pressed to embark in a war with Spain. The Dutch Commissioners, who were in London to negotiate a mercantile peace in the East Indies,[1] did their best to urge him in the same direction.[2] James was himself annoyed at the return of many of the priests whom he had set at liberty

[1] See p. 172.

[2] Lafuente to Philip III. Dec. $\frac{10}{20}$ *Madrid Palace Library.*

on Gondomar's departure, and orders were given to the judges to execute all those who were brought before them. Bacon, who was anxious to see an improvement in the King's revenue, called attention to the falling off of the recusancy fines, and Chief Justice Montague pleaded for the exaction of the full amount.[1]

On every side, James was urged to find a wife for his son other than the Infanta. The Duke of Savoy offered one of his daughters; the Dutch Commissioners proposed a German Princess. Louis XIII. had no longer the Princess Christina to dispose of, as she was on the eve of her marriage to the Prince of Piedmont; but he gave James to understand that an offer for the hand of his youngest sister, Henrietta Maria, would be highly welcome in Paris.[2] Abbot, Pembroke, and Naunton were never weary of repeating that to support the power of Spain at such a juncture was to endanger the Protestantism of England.

Marriages proposed for the Prince.

This urgency was sure to produce upon James an effect very opposite to that which had been hoped for. For him a quarrel with Spain in such a cause was to put himself at the head of that war of religion to avert which he he had always consistently striven. In November, whilst he was negotiating with Lafuente on the marriage treaty, he had raised Digby to the peerage, as Lord Digby of Sherborne, in order that he might return to Spain with the greater credit, to complete the arrangements for the match. He now refused to increase his revenue by raising the recusancy fines, and, countermanding the direction which had been given for the execution of the priests, he contented himself with requesting Philip to keep on his side of the Channel in future prisoners who had been liberated at the petition of his ambassador. As to the alliance with Spain, he anxiously

1619. January. James refuses to quarrel with Spain.

[1] Lafuente to Philip III. Dec. $\frac{11}{21}$, *ibid.*

[2] Venetian despatch from Paris, Nov. $\frac{19}{29}$. Quoted by Cousin, *Journal des Savans*, 1861, p. 278. Lafuente to Philip III. $\frac{\text{Dec. } 31}{\text{Jan. } 10}$, *Madrid Palace Library.* Consulta by Gondomar, Jan. $\frac{4}{14}$, *Add. MSS.* 14,015, fol. 80.

awaited the reply to the communication which he had instructed Cottington to make.[1]

That answer was the subject of much consideration in Spain. Gondomar's advice was asked, and the late ambassador drew up a memoir on the state of affairs in England. In spite, he said, of his efforts to keep James out of the hands of the war party, it was impossible to be free from anxiety. It was true that the English exchequer was empty, but the nation was rich, and a declaration of war with Spain would immediately be followed by a large grant of money. In a few weeks a powerful fleet could be manned and equipped. On the other hand, at no time had the Spanish navy been so entirely unprepared for war. The sea would swarm with English privateers; and whoever was master at sea would soon be master on shore. The Dutch rebels, the French Huguenots, and the German heretics would place James at the head of a powerful confederacy, and it was impossible to say what injury he might not inflict upon the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy.

Jan. 3. Gondomar's report on English affairs.

At any price, therefore, the friendship of James must be secured. With that, everything would be possible, even the reduction of England to the Catholic Church. The marriage treaty must be kept on foot. No doubt James had refused to concede religious liberty, on the plea that the consent of Parliament was needed, but this was a mere excuse. Why could not James change the religion of England as easily as his predecessors had done? The truth was, that he was a heretic at heart, and was afraid of any increase in the numbers of the English Catholics.[2]

James's formal offer of mediation.

In penning the memoir in which he thus sketched out the future policy of his Government, Gondomar had before him a letter which had been written by Buckingham to Cottington, at James's instigation, in order that

[1] Lafuente to Gondomar, Nov. $\frac{19}{29}$; Lafuente to Philip III. Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

[2] Consulta by Gondomar and Aliaga, Jan. $\frac{31}{1}$, 1619, *Simancas MSS.* 2518, fol. 42. The two formed a junta for English affairs, but the paper is evidently Gondomar's production.

it might be placed in the hands of the Spanish secretary, Ciriza.

In this letter Cottington was ordered to assure the King of Spain that James had left unanswered the repeated applications of the Bohemians for assistance, partly because he expected to be called upon to mediate, and partly because, as yet, he had only heard one side of the question. He wished, therefore, that Philip would procure for him the Emperor's answer to their complaints. He hoped that, to give time for negotiation, a cessation of arms would be accorded, and that Matthias would give security that, upon receiving the submission of the Bohemians, he would leave them in the enjoyment of the free exercise of their religion.[1]

Gondomar's comments.

Even at this distance of time, it is scarcely possible to read Gondomar's comments upon this letter without a smile. He believed, he said, that the King of England meant well, and that he was desirous of maintaining peace. It was only from vanity that he desired to have a hand in the affairs of Germany. In the end, he would be sure to attach himself to whichever of the two parties proved the strongest. It would be well, therefore, to accept his offer of mediation. It could do nobody any harm, and it might do good; for James might learn by it to be ashamed of himself, and to use his influence on the Emperor's behalf. Ciriza had better accept the offer, taking care to treat it as if it had been a simple proposal to assist in reducing the Bohemians to obedience. At the same time, he might promise that the Spanish ambassador at Vienna would do everything in his power to facilitate the offered mediation.[2]

The English mediation accepted by Spain.

Accordingly, on January 22, a formal letter, embodying Gondomar's suggestions, was written to Cottington by Ciriza.[3] At last Philip's hands were free. On the 24th, two days after his acceptance of the English mediation, he wrote to the Archduke Albert at Brussels, telling

[1] Buckingham to Cottington, Nov. (?), 1618, *Letters and Documents*, 21.

[2] Consulta by Gondomar, Jan. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1619, *ibid.* 27.

[3] Ciriza to Cottington, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 22}{\text{Feb. } 1}$, 1619, *ibid.* 36.

him that he had now decided upon sending assistance to the Emperor ;[1] and, on February 1, he sent word to Matthias that he was ready to make over to him a large sum of money, adding that, if that were not sufficient, troops should follow.[2] To make sure that James should not break through the net in which he had entangled himself, it was decided that Gondomar should return to England to complete the work which had been so successfully begun.[3]

For the moment, the alliance of James was equally courted by all parties. Whilst Cottington was waiting at Madrid for the answer of the Spanish Government, Baron Christopher Dohna arrived in England on a special mission from the Elector Palatine.[4] Ostensibly he came to ask James to renew the defensive treaty with the Union, which was shortly about to expire. But his main object was to sound the King of England, in order to discover whether he was likely to give his aid to the wild schemes which had been suggested by the Duke of Savoy.

January. Dohna's embassy to England.

To the renewal of the treaty with the Union, James made no objection whatever.[5] But when Dohna began to hint, in cautious terms, at the possibility that upon the death of Matthias the Bohemians would proceed to elect his master in the place of Ferdinand, James cut him short at once. In the case of a legal election, he said, he would do his best to support his son-in-law. But he would not hear of any aggression upon the rights of others. "There are some of the Princes of Germany," he said, "who wish for war, in order that they may aggrandise themselves. Your master is young, and I am old. Let him follow my example." He then proceeded to quote from Virgil the lines in which the aged Latinus is represented as warning Turnus that his impetuous valour

[1] Philip III. to Archduke Albert, $\frac{\text{Jan. 24,}}{\text{Feb. 3,}}$ 1619, *Brussels MSS.*

[2] Khevenhüller, ix. 333.

[3] Consulta of the Council of State, Feb. $\frac{13,}{23,}$ March $\frac{12,}{22,}$ 1619, *Simancas MSS.* 2518, 2515.

[4] Voigt in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1853, 127.

[5] The new treaty was signed Jan. 17, and ratified May 6, 1619. *Rymer*, xvii. 160.

needed to be balanced by his own sober judgment.[1] He subsequently sent a message to Dohna, requesting him not to forget that, if the Princes of the Union made an attack upon their neighbours, they must expect no assistance from him. He would give no help to those who were exciting the subjects of other sovereigns to revolt. Yet, within the limits of defensive warfare, he would do his best to maintain their independence. He had, unfortunately, no money to send them at present; but he would ask the Dutch to give enough to support two thousand men for a few months.[2]

If James could not give a very satisfactory reason for the advice which he offered, at least the advice was good in itself. It is true that the technical illegality of the Revolution at Prague was a very insufficient ground for deserting the Bohemians, but the feeling which that illegality had called forth was an important element in the decision to be taken. Frederick and those who surrounded him had contrived to inspire their neighbours with a belief that they had nothing to contribute to the solution of a most complicated political problem except violence and intrigue; and unless they could change their nature, there was little that England could do to help them.

Character of James's advice.

At the very time at which Dohna was transmitting this unwelcome intelligence to his master, James was giving signs that his words were not uttered as a mere subterfuge for the sake of avoiding war at any cost. For some time he had been receiving information from Cottington, that great naval preparations were being made in every port in the Spanish Empire. From Dunkirk to Barcelona the arsenals and dockyards were ringing with the equipment of a powerful fleet. It was said that the ships were to rendezvous in April

1618. The Spanish armaments.

[1] "O præstans animi juvenis, quantum ipse feroci
Virtute exsuperas, tanto me impensius æquum est
Prospicere, atque omnes *volventem* expendere casus."—*Æn.* xii. 19.
The words in italics were substituted by James or Dohna for *consulere* and *metuentem*.

[2] Naunton to Carleton, Jan. 21. The King to the Elector Palatine, July 4, 1619, *Letters and Documents*, 32, 152.

on the coast of Sardinia, where they were to take on board a force of no less than forty thousand soldiers. Cottington was told that the armament was intended for an attack upon Algiers ; and, if official documents are to be trusted, such was in reality the intention of the Spanish Government. A blow struck against the pirates at once, would obviate the necessity of admitting the hated co-operation of an English fleet in the Mediterranean.[1]

Alarm of the Venetians.

Such an explanation, however, would hardly be satisfactory to those who had most to fear from any fresh development of the power of Spain. The Venetians believed that the attack was in reality directed against themselves. During the whole of the past year they had been living in constant dread of Spain. The Spanish Viceroy of Naples had been carrying on hostilities against them on his own account ; and a terrible conspiracy, which had been foiled by a timely discovery, was universally attributed to the instigations of the Spanish ambassador, Bedmar. It was reported to the Council of Ten, that as Gondomar was leaving England he had concluded a conversation with Sir Henry Mainwaring, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, with the significant words :—"It will not be long before Spanish is spoken at Venice." [2]

These words may have been mere bravado ; but the Republic was alarmed, and its ambassador was directed to ask James for assistance. The real object of the Spanish fleet, it was believed at Venice, was to seize the city itself, or some point upon the Venetian coast which might be made the basis of operations against Bohemia.

1619. January. Naval preparations in England.

James was at once aroused. That Spain should assist the Emperor against his revolted subjects was well enough ; but an attack upon Venice would be a gross violation of public law. A courier was at once despatched to Cottington, directing him to interrogate Philip as to

[1] Cottington to Naunton, Dec. 3 ; Cottington to Lake, Dec. 4, 1618, *S. P. Spain.* There is a bundle of papers at Simancas, relating to "the secret expedition," as it is called.

[2] Information given to the Council of Ten, $\frac{\text{Nov. 30.}}{\text{Dec. 10}}$ 1618, *Venice MSS.* Communicazioni del Cons., di. x.

his intentions. Nor were James's remonstrances confined to words. On the pretext of reviving his own preparations against the pirates, he ordered Buckingham, who had just been raised to the direction of the Admiralty, to get ready six ships of the royal navy for immediate service. Fourteen more were to be equipped by the merchants, and orders were given to the City companies to pay the 40,000*l.* which had been assessed upon them.[1] A few days later it was determined that the old tax of ship-money should once more be levied at the other ports; and the magistrates were accordingly directed to make up the sum of 8,550*l.* amongst them.[2] At the same time the lords-lieutenants of the counties were directed to see that the trained bands were in a good state of discipline, and that the beacons on the coast were ready for use.[3]

February. The Dutch asked to co-operate.

The next step was to ask for the co-operation of the Dutch. James's plan was that the two fleets should pass the Straits of Gibraltar together, and

[1] The Council to Sir T. Smith, Jan. 17, 1619, *Council Register.* Lorkin to Puckering, Feb. 9; Feb. (?), 1619, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 442, 430. Carleton to Naunton, Jan. 25, 30. Naunton to Carleton, Jan. 27, Feb. 4, 1619, *S. P. Holland.* The Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, $\frac{\text{Jan. 23, 30,}}{\text{Feb. 2, 9,}}$ 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I., fol. 380–386. Donato to the Doge, Feb. $\frac{4, 11,}{14, 21,}$ 1619, *Venice MSS.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Jan. $\frac{21,}{31,}$ Jan. $\frac{28,}{\text{Feb. 7,}}$ 1619. See p. 70.

[2] The Council to the Mayors and Bailiffs of the Port Towns, Feb. 7, 1619, *Council Register.* The sums assessed are interesting, as showing the relative importance of the towns. London, it must be remembered, paid 40,000*l.*

Bristol	£2,500	The Cinque Ports	£200
Exeter	1,000	Yarmouth	200
Plymouth	1,000	Ipswich	150
Dartmouth	1,000	Colchester	150
Barnstable	500	Poole	100
Hull	500	Chester	100
Weymouth	450	Lyme	100
Southampton	300		
Newcastle	300	Total	£8,550

[3] The Council to the Lords-Lieutenants, &c. Feb. 11, 1619, *Council Register.*

should offer their combined assistance to the Spanish admiral in his projected attack upon Algiers. They would thus be in a position to oppose him with superior force, if it proved that the hostilities against the pirates were only a cover for an attack upon Venice, or even, as was whispered in England, for an attack upon Ireland.[1]

Suspension of the Spanish preparations.

By taking timely precautions against danger, James, for once, found his policy crowned with success. Before the Dutch had time to express their objections to the plan, news arrived that the Spanish preparations had been suspended, and that all danger was at an end.[2] It is indeed possible that James's singular display of energy may have had some connexion with his displeasure at the want of interest shown in Spain on the subject of the marriage treaty. For some weeks he had been complaining that, though he had long ago stated his terms, Philip had taken no pains to discover whether the Pope was likely to be satisfied. On January 31 a courier arrived from Madrid with the news that a person had already been despatched to Rome to ask for the dispensation.[3] Taking it for granted that the Spaniards wished to do all that friendship might suggest, James now selected an ambassador for the important mission to Bohemia. His choice first fell upon Wotton, but the appointment was almost immediately cancelled in favour of Doncaster. The selection of the man who, as Lord Hay, had unwillingly broken off the French treaty, and whose sympathies as a Scotchman were all on the side of France, was nevertheless spoken of as highly satisfactory by the agents of the Spanish Government. The explanation probably is that Doncaster, who was apt to echo the sentiments of those with whom he lived, had for the time taken his cue from James and Buckingham.

The King of Spain sends to Rome for a dispensation.

February. Doncaster appointed to the Bohemian embassy.

[1] The Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, Feb. $\frac{4}{14}$, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 389.

[2] Proposition of the Dutch Commissioners, March 5, *S. P. Holland.* Donato to the Doge, Feb. $\frac{11, 18}{21, 28}$, *Venice MSS.*

[3] Lafuente to Philip III., Feb. $\frac{8}{18}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

It was his opinion, he said, that Gondomar had gained more for his master in England by his courtesy than the most famous captain could have gained by his sword. The words were true, but the man who uttered them with complacent satisfaction had no very high political sagacity of which to boast.[1]

If, indeed, the work of mediation had been what James supposed, a mere arbitration between two parties who would only be too happy to see their quarrels decided by the sentence of an English ambassador, Doncaster's courtesy and ready tact would have stood him in good stead. As it was, there was nothing to be hoped from his mission. What James needed was a shrewd, impartial spectator, who would penetrate the real intentions of the various parties in the Empire, and who might have been able to put into some practical shape the good intentions of his master. But to the power of divining the truth which is obscured by jarring passions, Doncaster could make no pretensions. He was sure to throw himself at once into the arms of Frederick and his ministers. He would see with the eyes, and think with the thoughts, of the Court of Heidelberg. Even if he had any idea of impartiality when he landed at Calais, he would be a thorough partisan long before he left the Palatinate.

March.

The new ambassador's departure was delayed for some time by the news which reached England of the death of the Emperor Matthias.

Death of the Emperor Matthias.

In Bohemia the death of the Emperor hurried on a crisis which had long been foreseen. Ferdinand at once notified his accession to those whom he still treated as his subjects, and offered to confirm all their privileges, including the royal charter itself. But the Directors had gone too far to retreat. They did not even vouchsafe a reply to this overture. Though the word dethronement had not yet been formally uttered, it was plain that nothing less would satisfy the revolutionary leaders. The proposed mediation of the four princes fell at once to the ground.

Its consequences in Bohemia;

[1] Lafuente to Philip III.; Lafuente to Gondomar, $\frac{\text{Feb. 28,}}{\text{March 10,}}$ *Madrid Palace Library.*

To the Empire, the death of Matthias, whilst the Bohemian dispute was still undecided, was of even greater moment. The coming election had long been looked forward to as a time at which the vexed questions by which Germany was distracted might at last be settled. Few, if any, doubted that Ferdinand, as he was secure of the three Ecclesiastical votes, as well as of that of the kingdom of Bohemia, would carry the day. If it had been possible to find a candidate to oppose to him with any reasonable probability of success, the Protestants would no doubt have been wise in voting against him. But, as this was not the case, there was nothing left but to accept the unwelcome necessity, and to be content with imposing reasonable conditions on Ferdinand.

and in the Empire.

Nor would this be by any means an unsatisfactory result. If only Dresden and Heidelberg were united in their demands, not even when clothed with the whole of the Imperial prerogatives would Ferdinand be strong enough to resist them.

For the growing variance between the two great divisions of Protestant Germany, John George and Frederick were alike answerable. If the Elector of Saxony took the common-sense view of the case, and preferred to treat with Ferdinand rather than to oppose him, he roused opposition in those whom he ought to have conciliated by the contemptuous indifference with which he regarded the wishes and fears of his brother Elector.

Position of the Elector of Saxony.

On the other hand, Frederick was doing everything in his power to alienate all who dreaded anarchy. At one time he had attempted in vain to induce the politic Maximilian of Bavaria to put himself forward as a candidate. He now took up again the thread of his intrigues with the Duke of Savoy.

Frederick's intrigues.

In January he had sent Mansfeld to Turin to make arrangements for the coming attack upon the House of Austria. As the despatches came in—each one more significant than the last—telling of the great things which Charles Emmanuel was ready to do for the common cause, the Court of Heidelberg was beside itself with joy. "Now," cried out Christian of Anhalt, "we have in our hands the means of overturning the

world." But when it came to putting these plans upon paper, it was less easy for the contracting parties to come to an agreement. Frederick's advisers wanted the Duke to send them large sums of money, and to be content with vague promises for the future. The Duke wanted to make sure of the Bohemian crown, and of his election to the Empire, and to pay as little in ready money as possible. The negotiation therefore broke down completely. In April, one more attempt was made to take up its broken threads, and Christian of Anhalt was himself despatched to Turin to win over, if possible, the wily Charles Emmanuel by dangling before him the Imperial crown, in hopes of inducing him to come to the point, and to concert measures for the contemplated attack upon Bohemia and the Ecclesiastical territories. The envoy found the Duke in a less fiery mood than he expected. If he could sack Genoa with the aid of the German Protestants, as he had hoped two years before to sack it with the aid of Raleigh, it would be well enough. But he held out no hopes that he would allow Frederick to make a tool of him in Germany.[1]

At the same time one of Frederick's counsellors, De Plessen, was despatched to England to interest James in the scheme.[2]

April. De Plessen in London.

If James had had any real knowledge of German politics, he would have seen its impracticability at a glance. As it was, he ordered Sir Isaac Wake, his agent with the Duke of Savoy, who happened to be in London at the time, to return to his post. He was to warn Charles Emmanuel of the dangers which he was incurring, but at the same time to assure him of support if he could show that there was a reasonable prospect of success in his candidature for the Imperial crown. Upon his arrival in Turin, Wake was not long in discovering that the Duke, who cared far more about annexing Milan or Genoa to his dominions than he did about the sufferings of the Bohe-

Wake's mission to Turin.

[1] Compare with the original letters in *Londorp*, iii. 598 : Uetterodt, *Ernst Graf zu Mansfeld*, 192 ; Reuss, *Graf Ernst von Mansfeld im Böhmischen Kriege*, 35 ; Villermont, *Ernest de Mansfeld*, i. 108.

[2] The Dutch Commissioners to the States-General, May $\frac{1}{11}$, 1619, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 48.

mians, had no wish to allow his name to be used at the election, and that the intrigues from which so much had been expected had at last come to nothing.[1]

In the midst of these political troubles the Queen died. She had long been suffering from dropsy, and, since the King's return from Scotland in 1617, her condition had been such as to inspire her physicians with grave anxiety.[2] Her illness made her more earnest in the religion which she had always secretly cherished. At Oatlands she had two priests, one of whom said mass daily in her presence. They took advantage of her weakness to refuse to receive her confession, or to administer the communion to her, unless she would abandon her practice of occasionally accompanying her husband to church. Their exhortations took effect, and angry words passed between the King and the Queen. James told Gondomar that his wife had much changed of late. He hardly knew 'what devil had got into her.' In her bitterness of heart the Queen spoke against the Spanish marriage, which she had hitherto favoured, merely, as Gondomar thought, to vex her husband.[3] At Easter 1618, James had to go to church without her.[4]

Illness of the Queen.

During the remainder of that year the Queen continued in a feeble state, and it was evident to all but herself that she had not long to live. On February 22, 1619, she took to her bed. On March 1, her case was considered hopeless. The King, who was absent from London, was not within reach ; but the Prince was summoned to his mother's bedside at Hampton Court. Before he could arrive, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were admitted to see her. They were aware of the rumours abroad respecting her religion ; and the first words addressed to her by Abbot were intended to be a test of her belief. "Madam," he said, "we hope your Majesty doth not trust to your own merits, nor to the mediation

[1] Wake to Buckingham, June 5, 1619, *Letters and Documents*, 107.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 25, 1617, *S. P. Dom.* xciii. 140.

[3] Gondomar to Philip III., Oct. $\frac{12}{22}$ Dec. $\frac{20}{30}$ 1617, *Madrid Palace Library*.

[4] News-Letter, 1618, *Roman Transcripts, R. O.*

of saints, but only by the blood and merits of our Saviou Christ Jesus you shall be saved." "I do," was the reply "and withal I renounce the mediation of all saints, and my own merits, and do only rely upon my Saviour, Christ, who has redeemed my soul with his blood." The Queen's words were hailed by the bystanders as an acknowledgment that she had abandoned the belief of her maturer years, and had returned to the faith of her childhood.

Even now, the dying woman could not be brought to believe how short was the time before her. When the Prince arrived, she spoke to him a few light words, and ordered him to leave the room. Nor were the bishops allowed to remain. There was not much amiss, she said. Those who were around her bed urged her to make her will. "No," she replied, "to-
March 2. Her death. morrow will do well enough." It was one in the morning before she was aware that her end was near. She sent again for her son, and, laying her hands on his head, gave him her blessing. The lords in attendance brought in her will, but she was unable to sign it. She said that she left everything to the Prince, and that she hoped that he would reward her servants. The Bishop of London prayed with her. "Madam," he said at last, when her speech had failed, "make a sign that your Majesty is one with your God, and longs to be with Him." She held up one of her hands, and when that was exhausted she raised the other, till that, too, sank down. In a few minutes she was no more.[1]

The Queen's death was of no political importance. Her character was too impulsive to give her much influence with
Her character. her husband, and she seldom attempted to employ it with any settled and deliberate purpose. Her real sphere was the banquet and the masque. Those who had been acquainted with her in the midst of the festivities of her court continued to speak of her with kindness. But by the mass of the nation she was as completely forgotten as though she had never lived.

James had not been with his wife during her last illness.

[1] —— to ——, *Abbotsford Club Miscellany*, 81.

He had taken leave of her on February 6, and had gone down to Newmarket to enjoy himself. Whilst there, he was taken ill. In the beginning of March he thought himself well enough to go out to see a horse-race; but he was unable to remain on the ground. For some days it was thought that he was dying. He sent for his son and the principal lords, that they might receive his last commands. To the Prince he recommended, as specially faithful, Lennox, Buckingham, and Digby, and spoke at length of the advantages of the Spanish marriage.[1] A few days afterwards he began to recover, and by the middle of April he was well enough to be removed to Theobalds in a litter. The first thing he did on his arrival was to order the deer to be driven before his chair, so that, though he was too weak to mount his horse, he might enjoy the pleasures of the chase in imagination.[2] As soon as he was able to move about, some one told him that the best cure for the weakness of the legs, from which he was still suffering, was the warm blood of a newly-killed deer. For some weeks, therefore, as soon as the hunt was over, he was to be found with his feet buried in the carcass of the animal which had just been pulled down by the dogs.[3]

Illness of the King.

James does not appear to have felt his wife's death very deeply. During his illness, he had penned in her remembrance a few lines, in which, characteristically enough, his appreciation of the almost divine splendour of Royalty left him no room for a single word to express any personal grief for his loss. A great comet had lately appeared in the sky, and this, too, he pressed into the service of the English Monarchy :—

His verses on the Queen's death.

> "Thee to invite the great God sent His star,
> Whose friends and nearest kin good princes are,

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[1] Lovelace to Carleton, Feb. 24. Chamberlain to Carleton, March 6, April 10. Harwood to Carleton April 4. *S. P. Dom.* cv. 132; cvii. 6; cviii. 15, 33. Lafuente to Philip III., April $\frac{1}{11}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 27, April 24. *S. P. Dom*, cvii. 54; cviii. 69.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, June 26. *S. P. Dom.* cix. 113.

Who, though they run the race of men and die,
Death serves but to refine their majesty.
So did my Queen from hence her court remove,
And left off earth to be enthroned above.
She's changed, not dead, for sure no good prince dies,
But, as the sun sets, only for to rise."[1]

The King's visit to London.

On June 1, James made his entry into London for the first time since his illness. He was still popular with his subjects. When, at the first news of his recovery, the Bishop of London had appeared at Paul's Cross to return thanks for his preservation, a greater crowd than had been seen for many years had gathered round him to express their joy.[2] Whatever the King's faults may have been, men were unwilling to exchange their well-meaning Sovereign for the uncertainties of the future. They now flocked to see him ride once more in his accustomed state. He was dressed in gay colours, and looked, as one who saw him said, more like a wooer than a mourner.

Marriage proposed for Christopher Villiers.

It would have been strange if this day of rejoicing had been allowed to pass without some exhibition of the King's weakness for his favourite. Lady Buckingham had now set her heart upon providing, by a wealthy marriage, for her youngest son Christopher in the way that she had already provided for her eldest son John. But it was difficult to find a lady at once rich enough to command a choice of suitors, and willing to condemn herself to pass the rest of her life with the unattractive and unintelligent lad. Siege had first been laid to the widow of the eldest son of the Earl of Suffolk. But the lady had laughed at the youth's presumption, and had given her hand to Sir William Cavendish.[3] Lady Buckingham turned to the City. The Lord Mayor, Sir Sebastian Harvey, had an only child, a girl of fourteen. It was known that his property was worth at least 100,000*l.*[4] Again the honour of the alliance was declined. The King was easily

[1] *S. P. Dom. Imperfect MSS.* No. 2, fol. 27.
[2] Chamberlain to Carleton, April 17, *S. P. Dom.* cviii. 51.
[3] Lorkin to Puckering, July 14, 1618, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 414.
[4] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, July $\frac{16}{26}$, 1619.

induced to interfere. Message after message was sent by James to the reluctant citizen. But the course which had proved so successful with Coke failed utterly with Harvey. His child, he said, was too young to marry yet. James was highly displeased, and, as he rode into London, his first thought was to rate the Lord Mayor soundly. But the Lord Mayor was not to be seen. The old man was lying sick at home, worn out by the importunity which he had found it so difficult to resist.[1] Six weeks afterwards James suddenly appeared at the Mansion House, and used all his eloquence with the father of the heiress. Harvey, who needed neither place nor pension, remained unconvinced, and Christopher Villiers did not succeed in finding a wife for many years to come.

Sir John Villiers raised to the peerage.

Lady Hatton had proved equally obdurate in her refusal to make over her Dorsetshire property to Sir John Villiers. James was obliged to console him with a peerage. The new Viscount Purbeck took his title from the very lands which his mother-in-law had refused him.

The new Whitehall.

In passing through London, after his recovery, James remained a single night at Whitehall. No doubt he found time to look at the works which had been commenced under Inigo Jones. In 1606, a stately banqueting-house had been erected in the place of the old one in which Elizabeth had kept state. The new building had just been burnt down, and James, whose designs had risen with his fortunes, now thought of nothing less than of replacing the whole palace by a splendid pile which would be worthy of his exalted dignity.

The banqueting-house, which still remains to look down in fragmentary solitude upon the busy throng, was all that was ever completed of this magnificent scheme. Few buildings have been more closely associated with events which have left their impress upon the history of our country. From one of its windows Charles I. stepped upon the scaffold. It witnessed the orgies of the second Charles, and the intrigues of the second James. Within its walls the crown, forfeited by

[1] Lorkin to Puckering, May 24, *Harl. MSS.* 7002, fol. 476. Chamberlain to Carleton, May 31, June 5, *S. P. Dom.* cix 61, 75.

the last of the Stuart kings, was offered to William of Orange. From that day its glory was at an end. The new Sovereign turned away from a spot in which his health would not suffer him to live; and the deserted building remained to be as completely a monument of the past as the wilderness of brick which attracts the gay and thoughtless crowd of sightseers to Versailles.

Yet, if stones can speak, it is of James I., rather than of his successors, that the tall pile declares itself to be a monument. It is the fitting memorial of a king whose whole life was unfinished; who never either counted the cost of his undertakings, or put forth the energy which was needed to overcome the difficulties in his way. Nor was the long array of columns, which were to have arisen in marshalled ranks in the place of the irregular and loosely planned palace of the Tudors, an unsuitable emblem of the ideas of ordered government which floated before his mind, and which he vainly hoped to substitute for the uncouth but living forms of the Elizabethan constitution.

The banqueting-house at Whitehall marks the culminating point of James's life. He had just completed a thorough reform of the administration. He had effected considerable economy in his expenditure. He had crushed the last semblance of independence amongst the officers of state. He was bringing to terms the great commercial Company of the Netherlands in the East, and he was sending out a new Governor, who would doubtless put an end to to the difficulties of the Virginian colony in the West. Spain and France were bidding against one another for his alliance, and his own people had thronged in multitudes to St. Paul's to give thanks to God for his recovery from sickness.

Prosperity of James.

That the cloud had already risen in Germany which was to overshadow this brilliant prospect, was as yet unthought of by the vast majority of James's subjects. Everything rather than this rose before their minds as they tried to peer into futurity in search of the evil to come. In the preceding November, all England had been startled by the appearance of that comet of astonishing brilliancy, to which

The great comet.

James had made reference in the verses which he had written on his wife's death. For some weeks the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, were asking one another what it could possibly portend. The fate of the great man who had so recently perished on the scaffold in Palace Yard was almost forgotten in the general excitement. The comet, men said, had something to do with the fall of Barneveld. It might be a warning against the Spanish match, and the design which James was supposed to entertain for the overthrow of the Protestant religion. Perhaps some great disaster—famine, plague, or war—was to be expected. It had come to herald the funeral of the Queen, or to proclaim the death of the King himself.[1] The name of Prague was never mentioned with anxiety. Yet the conflagration which was to involve all Europe in its flames, and which was incidentally to ruin James's pretensions to statesmanship, had been for many months raging in Bohemia.

[1] Corbet's *Poetical Epistle.*

CHAPTER XXX.

DONCASTER'S MISSION TO GERMANY, AND THE BOHEMIAN ELECTION.

In offering his mediation in Germany, James believed that he had found a basis on which he might effect a reconciliation between Ferdinand and his revolted subjects. The ideal which he had set before himself in *The Peace-maker* was now to be realised. "Let the King," he said in effect, "keep the oath which he took at his coronation. Let the Jesuits cease to meddle with political affairs. Let all prisoners on both sides be released, and let the Protestants enjoy the rights and liberties to which they are entitled."[1] The advice was excellent, but the man could have but little knowledge of human nature who fancied that a deep and envenomed quarrel could be appeased by such vague generalities.

Doncaster's instructions.

April.

On the whole, however, though James was on excellent terms with the Spanish agents, and honestly professed to be anxious for a good understanding with Philip, his actions could not but be affected by the strong anti-Spanish feeling around him. It was not, therefore, without reason that Sanchez and Lafuente eagerly expected the return of Gondomar, as the best means of fixing James in his resolutions. They had much to tell which had given them little pleasure. At the time when Doncaster was preparing to start, orders were given to stop the equipment of the fleet, on

Tendency of James's policy.

[1] Instructions to Doncaster, April 14, 1619, *Letters and Documents*, 64.

the ground that it was impossible at this conjuncture to join forces with Spain against the pirates. So hopeless did the project now appear to James, that he actually returned to the merchants the money that he had levied from them for the purpose.[1] What was more significant still, the Council was listening to a proposal from Arundel and Lennox to send out Roger North, one of Raleigh's captains, to the Amazon. It is true that he was not to sail to the westward of the Oyapok.[2] But even with this restriction his voyage would be extremely galling to the Spaniards. Nor can they have been otherwise than annoyed at the advancement, at Buckingham's request, of their declared enemy, the Earl of Southampton, to a seat in the Privy Council.[3]

At last, after many delays, Doncaster set out, on May 12. At Brussels he made a fruitless effort to procure from the Archduke more than a languid assent to his diplomatic efforts. On his arrival at Heidelberg he found that the Elector was absent at Heilbronn, presiding over an assembly of the Union. As England was represented at the meeting by Wotton, Doncaster did not think it necessary to follow him.

May. Doncaster sets out.

June.

Wotton was then upon his way home from Venice. He had been commissioned to assure the Princes of the Union, as he passed, of the friendly dispositions of the Venetian Republic, and to urge them to join his master in a scheme for the erection of colleges for the reception of converts from Popery.[4]

Wotton at Heilbronn.

For such solemn trifling the Princes of the Union had no time to spare. They were agitated by the news which reached them from various quarters. Silesia and Moravia had thrown

[1] The Council to Sir T. Smith, March 18. Calvert to the Council, April 8. Resolution of the Council, April 28, 1619. *Council Register.*

[2] Resolution of the Council, March 14. The Council to Coventry, March 18, 1619. *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* April 30. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, May $\frac{13}{23}$, 1619.

[4] Instructions to Wotton, March 1. Answer to Wotton, June 12. *Letters and Documents*, 46, 112. The idea had been Bacon's. *Letters and Life*, iv. 254.

in their lot with the Bohemian Directors, and whilst Mansfeld was keeping Bucquoi in check, Thurn, at the head of a second army, was thundering at the gates of Vienna. It was only by the iron will of Ferdinand that the estates of Upper and Lower Austria were still kept from openly giving in their adhesion to the cause of the revolutionists at Prague. On the other hand, ten thousand Spanish troops had been levied in the Netherlands for Ferdinand, and were cautiously picking their way across Germany from one Catholic territory to another.[1]

Steadfastness of Ferdinand.

It was time for Frederick and his advisers to come to a resolution; but the curse which dogs the steps of impotent intrigue was upon them. They had alienated the Elector of Saxony by their reluctance to co-operate with him in maintaining peace. They had hoped impossibilities from the Duke of Savoy, who, when he found that they could no longer serve his purposes, had all but laughed openly in the face of their emissary. Even the members of the Union itself had not been admitted to their confidence. Without definite aim themselves, they could not guide others. It was in vain that Maurice, the Landgrave of Hesse, the one really able man of their party, urged them to summon a general meeting of all Protestant States to deliberate upon the difficulties of the time. The Union, he truly said, was too weak to meet the danger. The permanent settlement of Germany must rest upon a wider basis. Frederick, it is true, gave his consent to Maurice's proposal, but only on the condition that the assembly should not meet till the Imperial election was over—that is to say, till it was too late to be of the slightest use. With equal reluctance either to act or to abstain from action, he persuaded the Union to place its troops on a war footing, though he refused to give any indication of the purpose for which he intended the armament to be used.[2]

Frederick and his advisers.

In the midst of these deliberations Frederick was summoned to Heidelberg, to meet his father-in-law's ambassador. By the Elector and his whole Court Doncaster was treated with

[1] Müller, *Forschungen*, iii. 162.

[2] Rommel, *Gesch. von Hessen*. Theil. iv. Abtheilung iii. 349.

every courtesy. In a moment he was carried away by the stream. It would have been difficult, no doubt, for any but the most seasoned diplomatist to preserve his equanimity as he listened to the Prince descanting on the perils to which he was exposed by the Spaniards and the Jesuits, or to look, without yielding to the impressions of the moment, upon the winning face of the youthful Electress, who, by the magic of her presence, swayed all hearts around her. Doncaster, at least, was not the man to note that in all that was said to him there was not a single practical suggestion—not a single sign of any definite plan. Instead of raising a warning voice against the mischief which was gathering, he told the Elector, with perfect truth, that he had come 'as a sheet of white paper to receive impressions from his Highness.' His Highness, unhappily, had nothing worth reading to write upon it. Without the statesman's resources to avert the danger which was at his doors, he saw no prospect but war before him. How that war was to be conducted, and on what principles it was to be waged, were questions to which he had never given serious consideration. One thing alone was plain to him, that he was threatened with attack, and that it was, therefore, the duty of his father-in-law to send him the aid to which he was bound by his treaty with the Union.[1]

Frederick's reception of Doncaster.

His demand for English aid.

The demand was earnestly seconded by Doncaster. The ambassador, indeed, had as little clear conception of the object of the war as the Elector. The troops of the Union, he informed James, were to be sent 'into the Upper Palatinate, under colour of defence thereof, but indeed to be employed as occasion shall offer.'

July. Against this attempt to drag him into a war in which he would never know for what he was fighting, James at once protested. It was only in case of an unprovoked attack that he was bound to assist the

It is refused by James.

[1] The Princes of the Union to the King, June $\frac{17}{27}$. Doncaster to the King, June 18. Doncaster to Buckingham, June 18. Doncaster to Naunton, June 19, 1619. *Letters and Documents*, 115, 118, 120, 129.

Union. To this unwelcome refusal, however, he added a vague assurance, that if the Bohemians were ready to yield to reasonable conditions, he would not desert them.[1]

With the view of Ferdinand's character which Doncaster had acquired at Heidelberg, it was not likely that he would be very hopeful of his chance of obtaining a favourable hearing from him. He had lost all confidence in the success of his mission. He saw well enough that, with the ill-feeling which divided the Protestant Electors, Ferdinand's election was certain, and instead of exerting himself to remove the causes of the evil, he hurried on towards Vienna to ask for a cessation of arms, in the hope, as he expressed it, of 'working upon his jealousy of missing to be Emperor before he knew how safe his cards were.'[2]

June. Successes of Ferdinand.

It was not merely the policy of the Court of Dresden which raised apprehensions in Doncaster's mind. Bad news from the seat of war had reached him before he started from Heidelberg. Mansfeld had been defeated in Bohemia by Bucquoi. Thurn's great enterprise against Vienna had signally failed. His blustering incapacity was equal to an assault upon the unarmed Regents at Prague, but he lost his head as soon as he was called upon to force his way into a defended town. The personal bravery which he undoubtedly possessed would serve him but little here. He counted too much on his allies within the city, and too little on himself. At the moment when Ferdinand's cause appeared most hopeless, when the Protestant nobles were pressing him with threats of vengeance if he refused to sign the act of their confederation with the Bohemians, a regiment of horse dashed in through an unguarded gate to his assistance. The malcontents dispersed in hopeless confusion, and a day or two afterwards Thurn was in full retreat.

Cajoled and flattered on his way through Munich,[3] by the politic Maximilian, Doncaster hurried on to meet Ferdinand,

[1] The King to the Princes of the Union, July 4. The King to the Elector Palatine, July 4, 1619. *Letters and Documents*, 50, 152.

[2] Doncaster to Naunton, June 19. *Ibid.* 129.

[3] On receiving the King's letter, Maximilian assured Doncaster that 'if God had blessed him with any children, he would have left it to them

before worse news could reach him. He found him at Salzburg, on his way to the Imperial election at Frankfort. Ferdinand received him civilly, but gave him to understand, through one of his Councillors, that as the mediation had long ago been placed in the hands of four Princes of the Empire, the King of England's offer was altogether inadmissible. Doncaster then asked whether a cessation of arms would be granted? At this the Councillor started. "It is a new proposition," he said, "out of all reason and season. His Majesty has, as it were, the Bohemians in his power." "Then," replied Doncaster, "it seems as if his Majesty will hearken to no peace but when he has need of it." To this home thrust the Councillor answered that it was impossible for his master to determine on such weighty matters in the absence of his Council. "Well, then," said Doncaster, "if his Majesty will command me, and will promise, at my coming to Frankfort, to enter upon a treaty, I will go post to the Bohemians, and bring from them the most moderate demands I can get." To this offer no answer was returned, and the conversation came to an end. An attempt made on the following day to elicit a satisfactory reply, was equally unsuccessful. The ambassador was told that he must go back to Frankfort, and that he should receive his answer there.[1]

July. Meeting of Ferdinand and Doncaster.

On his arrival at Frankfort, Doncaster sought an interview with the Spanish ambassador, Oñate. The Spaniard justified Ferdinand in his refusal to pass over the mediation of the four princes in favour of the King of England. "Why, then," said Doncaster, "was my master's intervention so earnestly requested by your master, if it cannot be accepted now?" To this question Oñate gave no direct reply. He talked of the danger of offending the German Princes by passing them by, and then proceeded to launch forth into a discourse on the state of the Empire. Doncaster

Doncaster's interview with Oñate.

as a most precious piece, and charged them on his blessing to honour and serve his Majesty.' Doncaster wrote home in praise of the Duke, and especially lauded him as not being 'a Jesuited Prince.' Doncaster to Naunton, July 2, 1619. *Letters and Documents*, 144.

[1] Doncaster to Naunton, July 9. *Ibid*, 156.

cut him short at once. With these matters, he said, he had nothing to do. He wanted to know whether a cessation of hostilities would be granted, and he would be glad to have an answer on that point as soon as possible. Such an answer, he told the Spaniard, could be easily obtained if he chose to interest himself about it, as it was notorious that the men and money for the war in Bohemia were furnished by the King of Spain. Oñate replied that as soon as the election was over a cessation of arms would be granted, if only the Bohemians would allow their King to enjoy his crown on the same conditions as his predecessors. As this proposal implied that the Bohemians were to give way on all the points in dispute, it was not likely to be accepted at Prague. Doncaster, however, caught at the suggestion, and declared his readiness to set out at once for Bohemia, if the King and the Spanish ambassador would confirm by their signatures the proposal which had just been made. Oñate did not seem very eager to comply with this request, 'yet,' as Doncaster expressed it, 'he promised fairly, but rather as it seemed out of shame to eat his own words so hot, than out of any good affection to satisfy me.'

A whole week passed away before Doncaster heard anything further from either Ferdinand or the ambassador. At last he received a long memoir, containing a defence of the King's claims upon the allegiance of the Bohemians. The next day Oñate told him plainly that the time for a cessation of arms was past. "The victory," he said, "inclines so much to the King's party, that I am no longer in doubt of the event. There are but two ways of coming to a peace. Either the Bohemians must offer their submission, or the sword must decide the quarrel."

Rejection of Doncaster's offers.

It was with some difficulty that Doncaster kept his temper, and contented himself with a diplomatic expression of regret that his mediation, undertaken at the request of the King of Spain, had not met with better success.[1]

[1] Doncaster to Oñate, July 31. Answer given to Doncaster, August 3. Memoir given to Doncaster, August 3. Doncaster to Naunton, August 7. *Letters and Documents*, 180–203.

Nor was it only at Frankfort that failure had attended the thankless task which James had undertaken. From Salzburg Doncaster had despatched one of his secretaries, named Norry, to Prague, to open communications with the Bohemians. Norry was received with open arms, till it was discovered that he had neither men nor money to offer. After this, he was treated with studied neglect, and was finally dismissed, without even the courtesy of an answer to the letter which he had brought from his master.[1]

Reception of his Secretary by the Bohemians.

Doncaster was aware that there was nothing more for him to do at Frankfort. In order to escape the appearance of responsibility for events over which he had no control, he retired to Spa, under the pretence of drinking the waters. He wrote home that he should remain there till he received fresh orders from England.[2]

August. Doncaster retires to Spa.

From time to time, as bad news from Germany reached England, the opponents of Spain were encouraged to do their utmost to gain the King to their side. In June, the Dutch assured James that if he would give up the Infanta, and marry his son to a daughter of Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, they would take care that the lady should bring with her a portion large enough to pay all his debts. Their English friends told James that if he would give his son a Protestant wife, Parliament would grant him no less than 800,000*l.* in subsidies.[3] Such offers were not likely to make an impression on James's mind. Those who made them were mistaken in supposing that because he was anxious to obtain a large portion with the Infanta he would, for the sake of any pecuniary advantage to himself, deliberately engage in a war which he believed to be unjustifiable. They misunderstood his character as completely as Raleigh had misunderstood it.

June. Efforts of the anti-Spanish party in England.

James still hoped everything from his alliance with Spain.

[1] Credentials and instructions of W. Norry, July 9 (?) Doncaste to Naunton, August 7. *Letters and Documents*, 188.

[2] Doncaster to Naunton, August 7. *Ibid.* 188, 205.

[3] Lafuente to Philip III., $\frac{\text{June } 22}{\text{July } 2}$. *Madrid Palace Library.*

Even if he had wished to join a league in support of the Bohemians, it would soon have been too late. Events were hurrying on in Germany with too startling a rapidity to give him much longer time to decide upon his future course of action.

August. The Electoral Diet.

When the Electoral Diet was opened at Frankfort, it appeared that the three Ecclesiastical votes were, as a matter of course, secured for Ferdinand. The Elector of Brandenburg was ready to follow submissively in the wake of the Elector Palatine. Frederick had a thousand schemes, but he had never been able to decide which to adopt. The only one of the Protestant Electors who came forward with a definite policy was the Elector of Saxony. It was uncertain whether Ferdinand was legally entitled to vote as King of Bohemia, as long as he was not in actual possession of the kingdom. John George, therefore, not unwisely, directed his representative at the Diet to refuse to take part in the election, till an attempt had been made to put an end to the war in Bohemia. Then, and not till then, he would be ready to give his vote to Ferdinand.[1]

As soon as Frederick heard of the Saxon proposition, he sent Baron Achatius Dohna to Dresden, to open communications with the Elector. Nothing but the blindest obstinacy could prevent him from accepting the hand thus offered to him. By making common cause with John George, he might have laid the foundations of a league which would have changed the whole future of the Empire; but Frederick's perversity was beyond all calculation. Dohna was instructed to revive the scheme of the candidature of the Duke of Bavaria, which had long ago been wrecked upon the absolute refusal of Maximilian. John George, who knew perfectly well that Maximilian would once more refuse to accept an advancement which would be contrary both to his principles and his interests, rejected the overture with scorn; said hard things in his cups of the folly of Dohna's master, and, in a fit of impatience, sent orders to his representatives at Frankfort to record his vote unconditionally

[1] Müller, *Forschungen*, iii. 229

in favour of Ferdinand.[1] Accordingly, on August 18, Ferdinand was unanimously chosen Emperor, without a single guarantee for the future. Even the representative of the Elector Palatine did not venture to vote against him. The blunder committed in Bohemia in 1617 was thus repeated at Frankfort, in spite of the warning given by the events of the past two years.

Election of Ferdinand.

Scarcely were the forms of the election completed when startling news arrived at Frankfort. On the 16th, the Bohemian Estates, which had already solemnly decreed the deposition of Ferdinand, had elected Frederick as their king in his place.[2]

Frederick chosen King of Bohemia.

Frederick was at Amberg when the news of his election reached him. He had long been playing with the idea that he might one day be king of Bohemia; and his ambassador, Achatius Dohna, had been actively canvassing the electors in his favour. But he had never realised to himself the meaning of the words which he used. His feeling was one of hopeless uncertainty. "I never thought that they would have gone so far," he said, when he first heard the bare news of his rival's deposition. "What shall I do, if they choose me for their king?" Irresolute himself, he looked on every side for counsel. Of the Princes of the Union, three only—Prince Christian of Anhalt, the Margrave of Anspach, and the Margrave of Baden—recommended him to accept the crown. His own councillors were almost unanimous in dissuading him from giving ear to the seductive offer. If his wife, with all the fervour of a young and high-spirited woman, and with all a woman's disregard of consequences, urged him to listen to that which, in her eyes, was the voice of honour

Hesitation of Frederick.

[1] Müller, *Forschungen*, iii. 234. Voigt in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1853, 134.

[2] *Ibid.* 220. The deposition is sometimes justified on the ground that Ferdinand was bound not to meddle with public affairs during the lifetime of Matthias; but a similar promise was given by Maximilian II., who presided at a diet in his father's lifetime. It seems, therefore, to have been directed against a claim to actual kingship, like that put forward by the eldest son of our Henry II

and conscience, his mother, with the prudence of years, warned him against the rash and hazardous enterprise, for which neither his character nor his resources fitted him. More significant still was the opposition of Maurice of Hesse-Cassel. No bitterer enemy of the House of Austria could be found in the Empire. He would have been glad to join in a general crusade against Ferdinand. But that Frederick, who had a few days before raised no open objection to the vote which had been tendered at Frankfort by his rival as King of Bohemia, should now seek to seat himself upon his throne, appeared to him to be subversive of all political morality.[1] And if it was intolerable to Maurice that the great conflict against Rome should dwindle down into a struggle for the aggrandisement of the Elector Palatine, with what eyes would the Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Saxony be likely to regard the spectacle? Protestant as he was, John George would find it hard to look calmly on, whilst Frederick, once his equal, was lording it over the broad lands which, with scarcely an interruption, stretched away from the banks of the Moselle to the western slopes of the Carpathians.

Maurice, in truth, had hit upon the decisive point of the question. It is hard for us, amidst the changed circumstances of European politics, to estimate at its full worth the doctrine which at the commencement of the seventeenth century inculcated the divine right of territorial governments. We are apt to forget that in this imperfect belief a protection was found for the time against the anarchy which threatened to take the place of the Imperial institutions in Germany. If every prince was to be at liberty to take advantage of the rebellion of his neighbour's subjects to enlarge his own dominions, men would soon welcome Ferdinand and the Jesuits to rescue them at any price from the turmoil and confusion which was certain to ensue. If Frederick had wished to help the Bohemians to maintain their independence, he might have assisted them materially by keeping in check the

September. Objections to his acceptance.

[1] Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, vi. 339. Haüsser, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz*, ii. 306. Ranke, *Zur Deutschen Geschichte*, 264.

forces of the Duke of Bavaria, and by thus obtaining for them a breathing-space in which to reorganise their army. But, encircled as he was by jealous rivals and lukewarm friends, his acceptance of the crown was the greatest injury that he could do to their cause.

Frederick knew not what to think. His weak and helpless mind found it impossible to weigh the value of the prudential considerations which were set before him; and, in his despair of coming to a conclusion, he clutched at the idea that by accepting the invitation of the Bohemians he was following a Divine vocation. "I beg you to believe,"[1] he wrote to the Duke of Bouillon, the friend and guardian of his youth, "that this resolution does not proceed from any ambitious desire to aggrandise my House; but that my only end is to serve God and His Church. I can say with truth that, as you know, I have not been eager for this, but that I have rather sought to be content with the States which God has given me; and that I have tried to hinder this election rather than to further it. It is this which gives me the greater assurance that it is a Divine call which I ought not to neglect." Thus, with his eyes blinded, he plunged headlong into the darkness before him.

He accepts the crown.

Already, before his decision was made, Frederick had despatched Christopher Dohna to England to ask for the advice of his father-in-law. As the ambassador passed through the Hague, he received every encouragement from the Prince of Orange. In the expectation of a renewal of the war with Spain as soon as the truce expired in 1621, the States had naturally been eager to gain allies. They had sympathized heartily with the Bohemians, and had granted them a considerable subsidy. Maurice now asked Dohna whether Silesia and Moravia had consented to Frederick's election? Dohna assured him that they had. "That is something," said Maurice; "but what does the

August. Dohna sent back to England.

[1] The Elector Palatine to Bouillon, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 24}{\text{Oct. } 4}$, 1619. *Ambassade Extraordinaire de MM. les Duc d'Angoulesme, Comte de Bethune*, &c. (Paris, 1667) 95.

Electress say?" "She says," replied the ambassador, "that she will sell her jewels to support the war." "That is not enough," replied Maurice, with a laugh. He could hardly have characterised more correctly the resources of the Elector himself than by the words "That is not enough."

September. His interview with James.

Dohna found James at Bagshot. If ever there was a case for swift decision, it was this. Even now, a word might have nipped the mischief in the bud. But James found it impossible to decide. The first words which he uttered in Dohna's presence betrayed his irresoluteness. "Do not expect," he said, "to return to Germany in a hurry." It was in vain that Dohna urged the importance of his advice as a reason for haste. "Your Majesty's son-in-law," he said, "has declared that he will not determine upon his course till he can hear what your opinion is." "I will consider of it," was the only response that could be drawn from James.[1]

The Council's opinion asked.

Downcast and disappointed, Dohna followed the Court to Windsor,[2] and finally to Wanstead. At last James was so far moved by his entreaties as to promise to consult his Council. On September 10, more than a week after Dohna's arrival, Naunton, by the King's directions, laid a full account of the past negotiations before the Board,[3] in order to elicit the opinion of the Councillors. Great expectations had been founded on their meeting by all who wished well to the Bohemian cause. A majority, it was said, would declare in favour of supporting the Elector energetically. But befor the discussion was opened, news arrived that Frederick had made his choice.[4] Aware that the time was

[1] Voigt in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1853, 141. Sanchez to Philip III., Sept. $\frac{17}{27}$. *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 22. The King's visit to Bagshot is not mentioned in Nichols' *Progresses*; but there is a proclamation dated there on the 2nd of September; and a letter written from thence by Buckingham (*S. P. Holland*) on the 4th.

[2] Dohna to Buckingham, Sept. $\frac{7}{17}$. *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 9.

[3] A brief of Naunton's relation, Sept. 10. *Ibid.* Ser. ii. 13.

[4] Dohna, as quoted by Voigt, says the news arrived on the 12th; but this must be from a slip of the memory.

past when their advice would be of avail, they referred the whole matter back again to the King. James's reply was an order to come down to Wanstead on the 12th, to hear what he had to say upon the question.

Frederick's acceptance known in London

The news had been brought to Dohna with a letter which he was charged to deliver into the hands of the King. By some mistake, it was written in German instead of the customary French. As soon as he opened it, James suspected it to be a forgery of the ambassador's, concocted in the hope of bringing him to the point. For some time he refused to speak to Dohna, and kept him waiting in the garden whilst he was himself chatting with the Spanish agent, and inveighing against the heinousness of his son-in-law's offence. At last, the unlucky Dohna was sent for. James told him briefly that as his master had chosen to take his own counsel, he must get out of his difficulties as best he could.

Language of James.

On the morning of the 12th the Council met. James would not allow a single word to be spoken in his son-in-law's behalf. With his usual skill in discovering expedients which would serve as an excuse for inaction, he had come to the conclusion that the main question to be decided was the legal validity of the election. There was no hurry, he said. The winter was approaching. As soon as he could make up his mind as to the justice of Frederick's cause, it would be time enough to decide what to do. Seeing that some who were listening showed signs of impatience at the announcement, he ended by reminding the Council that it was for him, and not for them, to decide between peace and war. Two days afterwards he informed Lafuente that he had refused ot allow the question to be put to the vote, because he was sure that the majority would have been on the side of the Elector. Being an honest man, he was bound to convince the King of Spain of his sincerity in the late negotiations. Besides, Frederick's conduct in asking for his advice, and then deciding for himself before first hearing it was really undearable.

His speech to the Council.

Never had any man been so affronted as he had been by his son-in-law.[1]

On the 16th, Dohna took his leave. As he was going, James told him that he expected him, as soon as it was possible, to send him proofs of the legality of the election. Unless he could convince him on this head, his son-in-law must look for no assistance from England. His subjects were as dear to him as his children, and he had no mind to embroil them in an unjust and unnecessary war.[2]

Dohna leaves England.

On the very day, perhaps at the very hour, in which James was announcing his intentions to the Council, the English war-party found a spokesman in Abbot. From a sick-bed, which made his attendance at Wanstead impossible, the Archbishop addressed a letter to Naunton. His humble advice, he wrote, was, that there should be no hanging back. The cause was a just one. He was glad that the Bohemians had rejected that proud and bloody man. It was God who had set up the Elector in his stead to propagate the Gospel and to protect the oppressed. The kings of the earth were about to tear the whore, and to make her desolate, as had been foretold in the Revelation. He trusted, therefore, that the cause would be seriously taken up, that the world might see that England was awake to the call of God. As for the means, God would supply them. The Parliament was the old and honourable way. It would seem that God had provided the jewels left by the late Queen, that they might be used for her daughter's preservation.[3]

Abbot's letter to Naunton.

It was not a wise letter. The Archbishop's policy displayed gross ignorance of the forces and the designs of the Continental powers. But there was that generosity of feeling, and sympathy with the oppressed, without

Abbot and James.

[1] Lafuente to Philip III., Sept. $\frac{16}{26}$. *Madrid Palace Library.*

[2] Voigt, in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1853, 144. —— to —— Sept. 16, 17. *Court and Times*, ii. 187. Harwood to Carleton, Sept. 14. Herbert to Carleton, Sept. 16. Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 2. *S. P. Dom.* cx. 59, 83, 94. Herbert's letter is erroneously calendared under the date of Sept. 26.

[3] Abbot to Naunton, Sept. 12. *Cabala*, 102.

which no successful statesmanship is possible. It was James's misfortune, and his fault, that he never knew how to place his actions, even when they were right, upon the broad ground of principle. How could he expect to carry the nation with him, if he found nothing better to say about Abbot's crusade than that, before he could decide whether he was to engage in it or not, he must devote some months to the study of the niceties of Bohemian constitutional law?

Condition of Bohemia.

In fact, the Bohemian cause was already lost. No Ziska had arisen, as in days of old, to touch the popular heart. The poor had little sympathy with what they regarded as the quarrel of the nobility. There was no general uprising of the nation from beneath, no organization from above. Everywhere there was weakness and disunion. Generals were at variance with one another, whilst their troops were unprovided with food and munitions. In spite of their superiority in numbers and position, in spite of their friendly relations with the aristocracy of Hungary and Austria, the Directors saw that the whole plan of their campaign had hopelessly broken down. They had offered the crown to Frederick, not because they saw in him the man who could organize the nation, far less because there was any attraction between the Slavonians of Bohemia and the Germans of the Valley of the Rhine; but simply because he had good friends,—because he was the son-in-law of the King of England, the nephew of the Prince of Orange, and the head of the Union,—because, in short, they hoped that he would be able to induce foreign nations to do that for them which they had deplorably failed in doing for themselves.

October. Frederick leaves Heidelberg.

Frederick's acceptance of the crown thus offered to him had been the result, not of wise consideration, but of the sudden resolution of a weak mind weary of its own indecision. Uncertain and perplexed, he set out from Heidelberg amidst the sobs and tears of his subjects. "He is carrying the Palatinate into Bohemia," were the words which rose to his mother's lips as she saw him passing through the gate of the castle which had been the home of his childhood. For a time indeed, amidst the pomp

of his coronation at Prague, he forgot his anxiety. Elizabeth was by his side, sprightly and hopeful as ever, and in her presence despondency was as yet impossible. Scarcely, however, was he seated upon his new throne, when he discovered how little he was able to fulfil the hopes of those by whom he had been chosen. He hurried to Nuremberg to meet that assembly which, if he had listened to the advice of Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, would have been filled with the representatives of the princes and states of all Protestant Germany. A glance round the hall of meeting, as he entered it, must have told him how completely he had lost the sympathy of his countrymen. From the Lutheran North scarcely a face was to be seen. The Calvinists of the South, it is true, still gathered round him. But no sooner did he ask for their aid in the coming campaign in Bohemia, than they intimated pretty plainly that they had no intention of drawing the sword in the quarrel. They would defend the territory of the Union, including the Palatinate, but they would do nothing more. Disappointed and disheartened, Frederick returned to Prague, to look on helplessly at the mismanagement which he was unable to correct; to waste in banquets and festivities the money that was sorely needed for the war; and to offend his Catholic and Lutheran subjects by destroying, with every mark of contumely, the images in the cathedral of Prague, which, from its situation in the midst of the Hradschin, he chose to regard as his own private chapel.

November. The assembly at Nuremberg.

Not for a moment did Frederick's narrow intellect grasp the vast proportions of the work to which he had put his hand. To calm down the seething cauldron of Bohemian jealousies and passions by the exercise of a firm and orderly government, to find pay and provisions for the army, and to enforce stern discipline upon the commanders, were but the least part of his undertaking. He had broken up the foundations upon which law and order had hitherto rested alike in Bohemia and in the Empire, and it was his imperative duty to re-establish them upon a sounder basis. Such deeds as his are indeed only to be justified by that nobler success which alone is permanent, because it does not base itself upon the flaunting glories of military power, but

has its roots planted in the courage and wisdom by which the new and better order is introduced for the benefit of the world.

The confidence which was lost to Frederick had passed over to the Catholics. They felt instinctively that their enemy was playing their game. They saw that the assistance which Frederick might have given to the Bohemians, if he had firmly resisted all temptation to aggrandise himself, it was no longer in his power to give. They saw that he had placed his own cause in the worst possible light, and that the attachment of all but the most thoroughgoing partisans had been sensibly cooled towards him. The old Pope perceived at a glance that Frederick had squandered away his last chance. "That prince," he said, when he heard the news of his acceptance of the crown, "has thrown himself into a fine labyrinth." "He will only be a winter-king,"[1] said the Jesuits. "When the summer comes he will be driven from the field."

Confidence of the Catholics.

September.

The leaders of the Catholic party in Germany had not been idle. As soon as he could decently leave Frankfort after his coronation, Ferdinand had hurried to Munich to consult his kinsman, the politic Maximilian. In many respects the two cousins resembled one another closely. Like Ferdinand, Maximilian was a man of deep and sincere piety. His temperate and abstemious life was the admiration of his panegyrists. But, unlike Ferdinand, he had the statesman's capacity for holding the thread of complicated affairs in the grasp of a strong intellect. He knew not only what he wanted, but what were the precise steps by which his aim was to be attained. He was never in a hurry; but when the time for action came, it was certain to be found that everything had been done that human ingenuity could devise to secure success.

The Duke of Bavaria.

[1] Carleton to Chamberlain, Jan. 3, 1620. *S. P. Holland.* The epithet, "winter-king," as applied by historians to Frederick, is ridiculous, as he reigned through the summer of 1620. French writers, to escape the absurdity, called him "roi de neige," implying simply that his reign was short. The fact is, that the term was used as a prediction, like Charles Townshend's name of "the lute-string Administration," applied to the first Rockingham ministry.

As one of his political opponents expressed it, whatever he did 'had hands and feet.' [1]

If Maximilian was intellectually the superior of Ferdinand, he was morally his inferior. The victory of the Catholic cause was more distinctly present to his mind as the means of his own aggrandisement. He had no idea of being a disinterested champion of the Church. He had long had his eye upon Frederick's straggling provinces, and he knew that the Upper Palatinate would serve to round off his own dominions. He would have shrunk from an aggressive war for the purposes of conquest; for it was a necessity of his nature to veil his ambition under the name of justice. But if the annexation could be effected in a regular and orderly way, he would take care that no earthly consideration should baulk him of his prey.

He had long been preparing for the storm. His people were happy and contented under his rule. He had the best filled treasury and the best appointed army in Germany. The general at the head of his forces, the Walloon Tilly, was one of the ablest commanders in Europe. It was evident that, if the long-expected war broke out at last, Maximilian, and not Ferdinand, would be the presiding genius of the Catholic party.

Maximilian had up to this point steadily refused to give any assistance to Ferdinand; for he knew that, if the Protestants were only wise enough to act with common prudence, no assistance which he could bring would be of any avail. But with silent heedfulness he had observed them making one blunder after another, and he now saw that, after infinite hesitations, his rival had at last rushed upon his ruin. It remained for him to make his own terms. He had no intention of chivalrously devoting himself to the salvation of the Empire or of the Church. In Ferdinand he saw an Archduke of Austria supplicating a Duke of Bavaria for aid. That aid he was ready to afford, but he would take care to exact the full price for his services. His expenses

Ferdinand's visit to Munich.

[1] Memoir by Freyberg. Breyer, *Geschichte des* 30 *Jährigen Kriegs*, 100.

must be paid, and till Ferdinand could raise the money, whatever territory might be wrested from the rebels in the Archduchy of Austria by the Bavarian troops, was to remain in his hands as a pledge for the fulfilment of the contract.[1]

The secret compact.

If Maximilian had stopped here it would have been well both for himself and for his country. But he was determined to use the hold which he hoped to acquire upon Austria to help forward his ambitious projects in another quarter. The Palatine House must be utterly ruined. The electoral dignity must be transferred from Frederick to himself. Frederick's dominions in whole, or in part, must be annexed to Bavaria. At this price he would be willing, when the time came, to relinquish his mortgage upon Austria.

To these terms Ferdinand consented.[2] There was nothing to shock him in the proposal. Frederick had chosen to appeal to the sword, and he must take the consequences. The extension of the Bavarian dominions to the Rhine, and the transfer of an electorate from a Protestant to a Catholic prince, would be welcome to him, not merely as opening a prospect of freeing his own dominions from invasion, but as a change good in itself. Order would be maintained in the Empire, and a firm barrier interposed against any future attack upon the ecclesiastical states.

Ferdinand's case against Frederick.

If the Protestant populations of the Palatinate were to be entirely disregarded, and if there had been nothing in question beyond the merits and demerits of Frederick himself, there would have been little to say against the compact thus formed. If a federal Government is to exist at all, its first duty is to prohibit all internal warfare between the members of the confederation. It is childish to argue that Ferdinand was precluded from using his authority because he happened to be himself the prince who had been wronged. What was right for him to do in defence of the

[1] Agreement between Ferdinand and Maximilian, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 28}{\text{Oct. } 8}$, 1619. Breyer, *Beilage*, iii.

[2] Philip III. to the Archduke Albert, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 24}{\text{Feb. } 3}$, 1620. *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 154. Breyer, *Beilage*, vii. viii. ix. x.

Elector of Saxony or of the Elector of Brandenburg was right to be done in defence of the King of Bohemia. Unless men were prepared to say that the Imperial institutions were to be practically abolished, they could hardly, with any degree of fairness, claim for Frederick immunity from the consequences of his aggression.

The Protestant populations.

But if Frederick could not justly complain of the Munich compact, it was a terrible blow to his Protestant subjects. Of them and of their rights it took no account whatever. That religious liberty was anything more than another name for insubordination, Ferdinand was never able to conceive. For him, as for all others, the good and the evil were to bear each its own fruit. By his resolution to restrain the turbulence of Frederick, he laid the foundation of the victory of Prague. By his contempt for those rights of conscience, which could not place themselves under a technically legal guarantee, he was signing the death warrant of the Imperial authority.

Character of the Thirty Years' War.

The Thirty Year's War was not, as Protestant writers delight to affirm, simply the resistance of an oppressed people to the forcible reimposition of Catholicism. Neither was it, as Catholic historians assert, the defence of legitimate order against violence and fraud. It was a mortal struggle between anarchy and despotism.

November. The defence of Vienna.

So strong was the general feeling in favour of a compromise, which, leaving Bohemia in the hands of Ferdinand, would also leave the Palatinate in the hands of Frederick, that neither Ferdinand nor Maximilian ventured to give publicity to the agreement by which they hoped to secure the permanent supremacy of their party in the Empire. Maximilian at once set about the task which he had undertaken. He dismissed Ferdinand to Vienna. The presence of the Emperor was sadly needed. Under Bethlen Gabor, the Prince of Transylvania, the Hungarians had risen in insurrection, and 25,000 men of the combined forces of Hungary and Bohemia were sweeping round the walls. But in that vast host there was not a single head capable of planning anything more intricate than a foraging raid or a cavalry skirmish, and in

a few weeks the armies had melted away, leaving nothing behind them but the smoking ruins and devastated fields by which they marked their track. Before the end of January, Bethlen Gabor signed a truce, which guaranteed Ferdinand's eastern frontier from attack till Michaelmas.

The task of throwing himself into the beleaguered city had been assigned to Ferdinand. The higher duties of statesmanship Maximilian reserved for himself. Early in December he summoned a meeting of the Catholic League. His advances were met with cordiality, and his plans for the reconstruction of the alliance were at once adopted. A force of 25,000 men, to be placed under his orders, was voted without difficulty.

December. Reconstruction of the League.

The reconstruction of the League was the smallest part of Maximilian's labours. During the whole winter he was engaged in angling for the neutrality, if not for the active co-operation, of the Elector of Saxony. John George was easily entangled. To the dangers which would ensue upon a Catholic victory he was altogether blind. To the dangers to himself and his religion, from the advancement of a Calvinist prince, he was quicksighted enough. The voice of the Lutheran clergy summoned him to arm, lest the Antichrist of Rome should only be dethroned to make way for the worse Antichrist of Geneva.[1]

Negotiations with the Elector of Saxony,

If, as seemed not unlikely, John George should accept the advances of Maximilian, Frederick's position would be almost hopeless. But the politic Bavarian was not satisfied. To convert the probability of success into a certainty, he applied to the Court of Madrid.

and with Spain.

The policy of the Spanish Government was very much the same as it had been ever since the outbreak at Prague. As a matter of abstract opinion, the ministers of Philip would have been delighted to see Protestantism swept away from the whole of Europe; but they knew their own weakness, and they dreaded a long and expensive war. They had readily sent assistance to Ferdinand for his campaign in

Policy of Spain.

[1] Müller, *Forschungen*, iii. 296–378. *Breyer*, 263–337.

Bohemia; but at the same time they had done their utmost to maintain peace in the West of Europe. Being especially anxious to retain the friendship of the King of England, they had even at last consented to the signature of the treaty for the joint attack upon the pirates, thus opening the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar to their dreaded allies.[1] The news of Frederick's election filled them with additional apprehension. Too far from the centres of German opinion to know that the new king had ruined himself by the step which he had taken, they imagined that his acceptance of the throne was the pre-concerted signal for a general assault upon all Catholic governments.

Against such an attack they were prepared to put forth their utmost strength; yet it was with no hopeful feeling that they prepared for the struggle. When, in November, Gondomar was at last preparing to set out for England, he was filled with the most gloomy forebodings. He had served his master, he said, for six-and-thirty years, without putting a ducat in his purse or adding a stone to the house which had been bequeathed him by his ancestors. Now that the time of difficulty had come, he would not shrink from doing his duty; but he had no hope of being able to preserve peace with England. The religion of James consisted in a warm attachment to his own interests. He was always to be found on the strongest side, and as the world was going now he would not be found on the side of Spain.[2]

Gondomar's forebodings.

The notion which Gondomar and Gondomar's English opponents alike entertained, that James was always led by his interests, was altogether false, so far as it regarded him as a man ready to sacrifice his sense of justice to mere considerations of interest. At the very time when these lines were penned by Gondomar, James was deliberately refusing to enrich himself by means which appeared to him to be harsh. For many

[1] Consulta of the Commissioners, April $\frac{19}{29}$; Instructions to Gondomar, July 28, Aug. 7, *Simancas MSS.* 2859, fol. 47; 2592, fol. 429. Undated treaty, *S. P. Spain.*

[2] Gondomar to Ciriza, Nov. $\frac{11}{21}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2599, fol. 206.

months an investigation had been going on into the circumstances under which gold had been surreptitiously exported from England. The exportation of gold was, in those days, universally regarded as equivalent to robbery, and towards the end of 1618 it was discovered that the foreign merchants residing in London had long been in the habit of exporting gold to a large amount. It was said that since the King's accession no less than 7,000,000*l.* had been carried away surreptitiously. The indignation of James and the Council knew no bounds. Eighteen of the offenders, chiefly Dutchmen, were summoned before the Star Chamber. It proved less easy than had been expected to establish a case against the defendants. The necessary witnesses had been smuggled out of the country, and, in default of positive evidence, the prosecution was obliged to rely upon general inferences. As soon as the case had been heard, in the summer of 1619, it was adjourned, on the plea that it was hard to punish the eighteen without including in the sentence others who were equally guilty.[1] The real cause of delay was, doubtless, the desire of the Government to obtain more satisfactory evidence than that of which it was in possession.

1618. Exportation of gold.

1619.

During the vacation fresh proofs were discovered, and a number of persons who had hitherto escaped detection were included in the accusation. In the autumn, both the new and the old defendants were sentenced to considerable fines, amounting altogether to 140,000*l.* Bacon pleaded hard that the whole sum might find its way into the Exchequer. James was more merciful, and contented himself with exacting rather less than 29,000*l.*[2]

Fines imposed.

[1] Smith to Carleton, Dec. 2, *S. P. Dom.* civ. 4. Bacon to Buckingham, Dec. 11, 1618, *Works*, ed. Montagu, xii. 364. Locke to Carleton, June 11. Herbert to Carleton, June 12. Report of the Proceedings, June 14, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cix. 87, 90, 96. Papers relating to the process, *Add. MSS.* 12,497, fol. 10–68.

[2] Bacon to Buckingham, Oct. 9, Nov. 19, 26, Dec. 7, 1619, *Works*, ed. Montagu, xii. 263, 265, 377; xiii. 20. Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 4. List of fines, Dec. 8, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cvi. 62, 66. Receipt-books of the Exchequer.

Such a sentence, coinciding as it did with the prevailing ideas on political economy, was not likely to call forth much opposition in England. Yet there were some who remembered that a large amount of bullion was every year smuggled out of Spain by English merchants, and who shook their heads at the impolicy of provoking measures of retaliation at Madrid.[1]

James might always be trusted to set aside any temptation to enrich himself in a manner which he regarded as unjust; but he was, beyond measure, sensitive to any attack on his dignity as a king, or on his character for honesty.

At this crisis of European history, one absorbing thought had taken possession of the mind of the King of England. Whilst all others were occupied in forecasting the future, he had no time to spare for such trivial subjects as the preservation of the German Protestants, or the maintenance of the independence of the Palatinate. He had been seized with horror lest he should be thought capable of complicity in his son-in-law's aggression; and till his honour, as he called it, was cleared, he could think of nothing else. At every Court in Europe, the English Ambassador was obliged to make himself ridiculous by vehement protests of his master's innocence. Cottington was to give himself no rest till he had convinced the incredulous Spaniards.[2] Doncaster, sorely against his will, was to hurry back across half a continent to congratulate Ferdinand on his election, and to add a characteristic request, that if his master's mediation were still acceptable, time might be allowed him to study the laws and constitutions of Bohemia.[3]

Doncaster sent to congratulate the Emperor.

It was not likely that events would take the leisurely course which James desired to impress upon them. Even before Dohna left England, news arrived which would have convinced anyone but James that there were new complications to be dreaded, for which

September. Movement of troops in the Netherlands.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, June 19, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cix. 102. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Dec. $\frac{10}{20}$, 1619.

[2] Digby to Cottington, Sept., *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 59.

[3] Instructions sent to Doncaster by Nethersole, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 57.

he would find no remedy in the Bohemian law-books. Ten thousand troops had been rapidly collected under Spinola from the garrisons of the Spanish Netherlands, and it was said that they were ordered to rendezvous at Maestricht. Rumour affirmed that either immediately, or in the following summer, the Palatinate would be attacked.

The Dutch were the first to take alarm. They at once gave orders to an equal number of their own troops to occupy a position as a corps of observation on the right bank of the Rhine,[1] and they directed their ambassador, Caron, to press James to take up arms in defence of his son-in-law and his religion.[2] For the moment, however, the storm blew over. The Spanish troops, it soon appeared, were for the time directed against the citizens of Brussels, who had hesitated to comply with a demand for increased taxation.

James's irresolution.

The danger was postponed, but it was not averted. On the grave questions of public law and of public convenience, which had been evoked by the mere rumour of a Spanish invasion of the Palatinate, James was as hesitating as ever. He asked Caron to thank the States-General for the promptness of their measures. As for himself, he could do nothing. He had no troops to dispose of. The winter was at hand, and would give him plenty of time for consultation. He had published to the world, in his books, his opinion about rebellion; and it would be most disreputable if he were to act in opposition to it now. Still, he could not desert his children. Dohna, on his return, might be able to find grounds for an honourable resolution in the arguments which he had been ordered to bring back from Prague.[3] In like manner, Doncaster was ordered to visit the Hague on his return from his mission, and to inform the States that, till his master's honour was cleared from the imputation of complicity with his son-in-law, it would be impossible for him to decide

[1] Carleton to Naunton, Sept. 12, *Carleton Letters*, 388.

[2] The States-General to the King, Sept. $\frac{11}{21}$, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 19.

[3] Caron to the States-General, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 23}{\text{Oct. } 3}$, *Add. MSS.* 17,677 I. fol. 446.

upon his future course.[1] The same tone pervaded the instructions which were given in January to Sir Walter Aston, the new English Ambassador at Madrid.[2]

Great was the dissatisfaction in England at the course which James was taking. Partly from love of excitement and adventure, partly from genuine sympathy with German Protestantism, the whole Court, with scarcely an exception, was eager for war. In the beginning of the new year the old enemies of Spain saw themselves reinforced by the giddy Buckingham, and by the Prince of Wales himself, who, silent and reserved as he usually was, did not hesitate to declare himself openly on his sister's side.[3] In the cry for war they had the hearty support of the great body of the clergy, who, in matters which lay upon the ill-defined border-ground between politics and religion, had all the influence of modern newspapers. It was especially a subject of complaint that they were not allowed to pray for Frederick under the title of King of Bohemia. "James," the Prince of Orange was reported to have said, "is a strange father; he will neither fight for his children nor pray for them." And the words were eagerly repeated in England, with scarcely concealed bitterness.[4]

1620. Dissatisfaction in England.

1619. September.

It would indeed have been disastrous to England if James had given the reins to the generous feelings of his subjects. It would have been madness to waste the energies of the country in an attempt to prop up the tottering throne which, in all Protestant Germany, could scarcely number a single hearty supporter beyond the limits of the Court of Heidelberg. But it was not enough to be right in his resistance to the popular feeling, unless he could lead that feeling into worthier channels. A statesman, who could have

James and his subjects.

[1] Instructions to Doncaster, Sept. 23, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 39.

[2] Instructions to Sir W. Aston, Jan. 5, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 119.

[3] Lando to the Doge, Jan. $\frac{20}{30}$, *ibid.* Ser. ii. 146.

[4] Hall to Carleton, Sept. 22, 1619, *S. P. Dom.* cix. 71. Nethersole to Carleton, Jan. 8, 1620. *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 132.

discerned the limit which separates the possible from the impossible, and who could have spoken wisely and firmly in the name of England to the enraged disputants, would soon have regained the confidence which he had lost by opposition to Quixotic enterprises. But when men looked at James and saw that he was pottering over Bohemian antiquities, and that, in the midst of the absorbing occupation of clearing his own reputation, he was altogether forgetful of the desolation with which Europe was threatened, it was impossible for them to give him credit even for the good intentions which he undoubtedly possessed.

The Meditation on the Lord's Prayer.

A curious piece of evidence has reached us, by which light is thrown upon James's state of mind at the most important crisis in his life. A year before, he had written and printed[1] a little book entitled, *Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer*. It was a strange farrago of pious observations and of shrewd onslaughts upon his enemies the Puritans, mingled with reminiscences of the hunting-field. The whole work is conspicuously that of a man whose buoyant spirits have never known trouble. After the lapse of another year he is writing another meditation upon the verses of St. Matthew's Gospel in which is narrated the mock coronation of the Saviour with the crown of thorns. This, he tells his son in the dedication, is the 'pattern of a king's inauguration.' The whole book is pervaded by a deep melancholy. The hunting stories are gone. The jokes about the Puritans are almost entirely absent. The crown of thorns, James writes, is the pattern of the crown which kings are called on to wear. Their heads are surrounded with anxious and intricate cares. They must therefore, he adds, with a return of his old self-confidence, 'exercise their wisdom in handling so wisely these knotty difficulties with so great a moderation that too great extremity in one kind may not prove hurtful in another; but, by a musical skill, temper and turn all these discords into a sweet harmony.'

1620. The Meditation on the crown of thorns.

[1] Early in 1619. Compare the preface with a letter from the Countess of Buckingham to her son in Goodman's *Court of James*, ii. 183.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE INVASION OF THE PALATINATE.

JAMES would soon have a yet more difficult question to solve than he had had before. A diversion upon the Palatinate, by a Spanish force, occupied a large place in the Duke of Bavaria's plan for the ensuing campaign. Such a diversion would, no doubt, weaken Frederick's chances of defending Bohemia. But to Maximilian it was chiefly valuable as facilitating the projected aggrandisement of his own dominions.

1619. Maximilian's designs upon the Palatinate.

The plan was eagerly adopted by Ferdinand,[1] and found a warm supporter in the Archduke Albert, who replied to a hesitating suggestion of Philip's [2] by a recommendation to send thirty-five thousand men across the Rhine in the following spring.[3]

The reception of the Archduke's letter at Madrid was by no means what Maximilian would have desired. The Spanish ministers had not ceased to dread the cost and danger of a general European war. In the Council of State opinions were freely expressed upon the Archduke's motives. Of course, it was said, the war was popular at Brussels. The stream of gold which would flow through the hands of the officials there would be welcome

Discussion at Madrid on the proposed invasion.

[1] *Breyer*, 339.

[2] Philip III. to the Archduke Albert, $\frac{\text{Oct. 26,}}{\text{Nov. 5,}}$ *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 86.

[3] The Archduke Albert to Philip III., $\frac{\text{Nov. 29,}}{\text{Dec. 9,}}$ *Brussels MSS.*

enough. But the King of Spain must look at the question from a different point of view.[1]

These sentiments derived great weight from the support of the King's Confessor, Aliaga, who since Lerma's fall, had become the most influential personage in Spain. The same good sense which had led him to oppose the attempt to overthrow English Protestantism by the aid of a Spanish Infanta, led him to look with dissatisfaction upon a scheme which would hopelessly entangle Spain in the disputes of Germany. Khevenhüller, the Imperial Ambassador, had tried argument in vain. He at last resorted to menace. "If the Palatinate is not invaded," he said, "the Emperor will make common cause with his enemies, and will attack the outlying territories of Spain." "Such language," said Aliaga, "may cost you your life." "For the sake of the truth and the House of Austria," was Khevenhüller's magniloquent answer, "I would gladly die. I should then be better off than you, for I should be in eternal glory, whilst the deepest place in hell, deeper than that appointed for Luther and Calvin, is prepared for you."[2]

November. Opposition of Aliaga.

With the poor bigot who occupied the throne of Charles V., words like these had more effect than with the patriotic priest whose first thought was of his country. Frightened at the idea of passing at his death into the company of Luther and Calvin, Philip at once gave directions that a favourable consideration should be given to Maximilian's overtures, and before the end of January, he wrote to the Archduke in approval of the dismemberment of the Palatinate, and of the transference of the Electorate, either to the Duke of Bavaria, or to the Duke of Neuburg, who laid claim to it as the next of kin after Frederick's immediate relations.[3]

Philip gives way.

1620. January.

[1] Consulta of the Council of State, $\frac{\text{Nov. } 29,}{\text{Dec. } 9,}$ 1619, *Simancas MSS.* 712.

[2] Khevenhüller, ix. 702. The date is not given, but judging from the change of tone in Philip's letters, it is probable that the conversation took place about the end of December.

[3] Philip III. to the Archduke Albert, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 24,}{\text{Feb. } 3,}$ 1620, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 156.

The details of these deliberations were veiled in profound secrecy. But it was notorious that negotiations were in progress of which Maximilian kept the key, and the movement of troops in the Low Countries had excited serious apprehension in Germany. The Princes of the Union knew that an attack upon the Palatinate would be a crushing blow to themselves, and in January they resolved upon sending an ambassador to London and the Hague, to demand the succour to which they were entitled by the existing league, as soon as they could show that their territories were exposed to unprovoked attack.[1]

Buwinckhausen's mission.

The ambassador thus despatched was Buwinckhausen, a councillor of the Duke of Würtemberg. He had no reason to complain of his reception in Holland. The Dutch had regularly remitted to Bohemia a contribution of 50,000 florins a month. They now promised to give a similar subsidy to the Princes of the Union, and declared that, if necessity for further aid should arise, they would send four thousand men to their assistance.[2]

February. His reception in Holland.

On February 21, Buwinckhausen arrived in London.[3] No mission of equal importance had ever been received by James. The demand which the ambassador was directed to make may well have appeared at first sight unreasonable; it was hard that Englishmen should be called upon to shed their blood in defence of a territory which was only endangered by the senseless folly of its own rulers. But to inflict penalties for past errors is no part of a statesman's work. His duty is to frame his measures so as to produce the greatest possible amount of good, at the expense of the least possible amount of evil.

His arrival in England.

It was undeniable that the occupation of the Palatinate by a Spanish force would be an evil of no ordinary magnitude. Heidelberg was the key of the Protestant position in the Empire. The victory of Ferdinand

Question of the defence of the Palatinate.

[1] Trumbull to Carleton, Feb. 5, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 161.

[2] Carleton to Naunton, Feb. 17, *ibid.* Ser. ii. 169.

[3] Lando to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Feb. 25,}}{\text{March 6,}}$ *Venice MSS.* Desp. Ingh.

in Bohemia would be a local success, and nothing more. His victory on the Rhine would carry with it the dissolution of the Union, and the dissolution of the Union would be followed by a struggle for the resumption of the secularised domains, and for the re-establishment of the Imperial authority over the whole of Germany. A blow would have been struck, of which every Protestant state in Europe would feel the consequences.

Nor was it likely that the sacrifices which the defence of the Palatinate would demand of James would be in any degree disproportionate to the results. If the Spaniards could be assured that war with England and Holland would be the consequence of an invasion, the military reasons for the proposed diversion would be at an end. It is evident that without the prospect of the neutrality of England, the Spanish Government would have turned a deaf ear to Maximilian's entreaties, and would have refused to light up the flames of a continental war merely to satisfy the Duke of Bavaria's ambition. When the struggle in Bohemia was at last brought to a close, James would have a chance of realising the great object of his life. He might fairly earn the honourable title of The Peacemaker. The sympathies of Northern Germany, which had been estranged by Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown, might be regained, when the only question at issue was the defence of the Protestant populations of the Palatinate from Catholic aggression. It is possible that the settlement of the Peace of Westphalia might have been anticipated by more than a quarter of a century.

James investigates Frederick's title.

Such statesmanship was not to be found in James. If he could not be led to do injustice by the temptations of avarice or ambition, he was always prone to pass over the broader aspects of a problem, and to fix his eyes upon some side issue by which his personal reputation was affected, or his personal feelings touched. He did not, therefore, ask himself how he might best provide for the good of Europe as a whole, or whether his own country was sufficiently interested in the struggle to take part in it at all. In the midst of the convulsions by which the Continent was

shaken to its centre, he fixed his eyes mainly upon two points: on the fact that Frederick was his son-in-law, and on the fact that Frederick was a usurper. When he thought of one of these facts, he persuaded himself that he ought to do something. When he thought of the other, he persuaded himself that he ought to do nothing.

James had now for some weeks been busily engaged in an investigation of Frederick's title. Early in January, Doncaster had returned to England, eager to embark his master in a crusade against the Catholic powers. At the same time Christopher Dohna's brother, Achatius, had arrived to perform the duties of ambassador from the new King of Bohemia, and had brought with him documents by which he hoped to make good his master's claim.[1]

Dohna's arguments, however, were not left without an answer. Lafuente plied the King with reasonings on the other side. James was sadly perplexed. All he wanted, he said, was to learn the truth. He was in great straits. Affection for his own flesh and blood urged him in one direction; justice and his friendship for the House of Austria urged him in the other.[2]

January.

At last, after two or three weeks' consideration, James announced that he had convinced himself of the groundlessness of Ferdinand's claim to reign in Bohemia by hereditary right. But he had still to consider whether the deposition of a king, once elected, was valid by the constitution of Bohemia. Buckingham carried away by the tide of feeling around him, was now found urging his master to stand forth in defence of the Palatinate. Both he and Doncaster were delighted at the progress which had been made, and Dohna, in order to strike while the iron was hot, told James that he was authorised to raise a loan of 100,000*l.* in the City, and asked him to assist him with his recommendation. The request was met

February.

Proposed loan for Bohemia.

[1] Lando to the Doge, Jan. $\frac{7, 20,}{17, 30,}$ *Venice MSS.*

[2] Edmondes to Carleton, Jan. 25, *S. P. Dom.* cxii. 35. Lafuente to Philip III., Feb. $\frac{4,}{14,}$ *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 157.

by a refusal. It was equally in vain that Buckingham asked permission to visit the Aldermen, and at least to hint that His Majesty would not be displeased if they opened their purses to his son-in-law. Dohna, compelled to go in his own name, was told that, without the King's permission, the loan could not be raised.[1]

Gray asks permission to levy troops.

Equally hesitating was James's treatment of Sir Andrew Gray, a Scotch officer in the Bohemian service, who came to ask leave to levy a regiment for his master, the expenses of which were intended to be met out of the City loan. Together with his credentials,[2] he placed in the King's hands a letter from his little grandchild, in which the boy had been taught to appeal in piteous terms for help. For a moment James was deeply moved. But he could not be induced to give any positive reply to Gray.[3] Something however, he said, should be done. He would order Trumbull, his agent at Brussels, to send in a protest to the Archduke, as soon as it appeared clearly that Spinola's army was directed against the Palatinate. To this order Trumbull respectfully replied, that by the time that it was positively known in what direction the army was marching, it would be too late to interfere.[4]

Buwinckhausen's reception.

Such was the position of affairs when Buwinckhausen arrived. He soon found that his very presence irritated James. The King met him with a torrent of abuse; he would scarcely suffer him to speak, and he kept him waiting for his answer more than a fortnight. He then told him that the present danger of the princes was the result of the Elector's aggression upon Bohemia, and that he was not bound to furnish any assistance whatever.[5]

[1] Nethersole to Carleton, Feb. 20, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 176.

[2] Frederick to the King, Jan. 16. Elizabeth to the King, Jan. 17, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 142, 144.

[3] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Feb. $\frac{18, \text{Feb. } 25}{28, \text{ March } 6}$.

[4] Trumbull to Naunton, Feb. 26, *Letters and Documents*, Ser. ii. 185.

[5] Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 26, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 104. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, March $\frac{3.}{13.}$ Trumbull to Carleton, March 7, *Letters and*

In a few days, however, James's language assumed a more favourable tone. Gray received permission to levy a thousand men in England, and a similar force in Scotland.[1] Sir Robert Anstruther was ordered to get ready to go to the King of Denmark, to borrow a large sum of money to be placed at Frederick's disposal, upon condition that it should be employed in the defence of the Palatinate.[2] At the same time, James announced that he intended to co-operate with the French in an attempt to put an end to the war in Germany.[3]

March.

It was, it would seem, in part at least, to Digby's advice that these resolutions were owing, and we shall hardly be wrong in attributing to him the whole of a plan which would have held out the olive branch to Spain, but which at the same time would have shown that the olive branch concealed the sword.[4]

Digby's policy.

Documents, Ser. ii. 188. Lando to the Doge, March $\frac{9}{19}$, *Venice MSS.* Desp. Ingh.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 11, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 18.

[2] Nethersole to Carleton, March 10, *ibid.* cxiii. 33.

[3] Naunton to Carleton, March 10, *S. P. Holland.*

[4] In the following August Nethersole, in giving an account of his reception by Frederick and Elizabeth, stated that he had delivered a letter from Digby, and had said that the King, his master, "Having found my Lord Digby mistaken by some of his own people at home by occasion of his being by him employed in the affairs with Spain, and having thereupon conceived a jealousy that the same noble lord might be also misrepresented hither to their Majesties, had in that respect given me a particular commandment to assure His Majesty that he had no more nor more truly affectionate servant in England; and for proof thereof to let His Majesty understand that, whereas the Baron Dohna had, since his coming thither, obtained but three general points for His Majesty's service: to wit, the loan of money from the King of Denmark, the contributions in England of the city and country, and the sending of ambassadors to the contrary parts, that the Lord Digby had been the first propounder of all this to the King, my master, before his Majesty's ambassador or any other of his servants in England, although his lordship had been contented that others (who were but set on) should carry away the thanks and praise, because his being known to be the first mover therein might possibly weaken the credit he hath in Spain, and so render him the more unable to serve both his own master

It is usually to little purpose to speculate on the result of events which might have happened, but there is evidence in a letter written about this time by the King of Spain to the Archduke Albert, which can hardly leave a doubt in any candid mind that a little firmness on James's part would have saved the Palatinate from invasion. "It is thought," wrote Philip, "that the invasion of the Palatinate will give the English a fair pretext for openly interfering in Germany, and for sending all their forces to the assistance of the Dutch. They will take the ground that it is one thing to assist their king's son-in-law in his attempt to seize the property of others, and another thing to protect him from the loss of his own patrimony. You will thus be attacked by the combined forces of England and Holland, and then, if we are to take part in the Bohemian war, we shall be at the expense of maintaining two armies, and we shall have to fight with England, though a war with that power has always been held by us to be most impolitic. Its inconvenience at this time will be especially great, on account of our poverty."[1]

Philip's apprehension of English interference.

It is true that Philip went on to say that, in spite of all obstacles, the Palatinate must be invaded. But it may fairly be argued that if James had adopted a more manly tone, Philip's letter would have ended in a very different way.

Whatever Philip or his ministers may have feared, the war party in England knew better than to trust to James's fitful manifestations of zeal on behalf of the independence of the Palatinate. Aware that Gondomar would soon be once more amongst them, they exhausted all their efforts in a vain endeavour to force their views upon the King, before the arrival of the dreaded Spaniard.

Gondomar's return to England.

On March 5, Gondomar landed at Dover. To the com-

and His Majesty, in which respect I humbly prayed his Majesty also to keep this to himself." Nethersole to Calvert, Aug. 11, 1620, *S. P. Germany*. The whole passage is very instructive on Digby's character and policy. One would, however, like to know what instructions he would have given to the ambassadors. Probably very different from those which they actually received.

[1] Philip III. to the Archduke Albert, March $\frac{15}{25}$, *Brussels MSS.*

pliments of the old buccaneer, Sir Henry Mainwaring, who was now the Lieutenant of the Castle, he replied by telling him that he would repay him for his courtesy by forgiving him twelve crowns out of the million which he had taken from the subjects of the King of Spain, if only he would promise to make good the rest.[1] The ambassador was then conducted in state to London,[2] and was lodged at the Bishop of Ely's house in Hatton Garden, which had been prepared for his accommodation by the express orders of the King. It was the first time for more than sixty years, as men bitterly reminded one another, that the chapel of an English bishop had been decked for the service of the mass.

Gondomar was scarcely settled in his new abode, when Gray's drums were heard beating in the streets. The next morning a placard, inviting volunteers to enlist, was found nailed to his door. He was far too wise to take any serious notice of the affront. The Elector, he said, had no better friend than himself, for, as soon as he had arrived, he had obtained for him that for which he had been for many weeks petitioning in vain.[3]

Much which was by no means to the ambassador's taste had been done during his absence. The East India treaty had been concluded with the Dutch, and was by this time in operation, to the detriment of Spanish interests. The Howards, his firm allies, had been driven from office. The Court was full of men to whom the very name of Spain was an abomination. Even Buckingham was in league with Pembroke and Southampton. All seemed lost, unless he could regain his mastery over the feeble mind of James.

His first audience.

Gondomar's first audience took place on March 12. He was received by James with a hearty welcome in the presence of the whole Court, and was asked to return the next morning for a private conference.[4] As he went

[1] Mainwaring to Zouch, March 5, 6, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 8, 10.

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, March $\frac{10}{20}$.

[3] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 11, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 18.

[4] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, March $\frac{17}{27}$.

back to Ely House, the courtiers trooped after him, eager to know what he had to say about the troubles in Germany. With ready wit he contrived to elude their questionings, so as to avoid rousing their master's susceptibilities by telling to others what he had not as yet told to him. He took care, however, to let his dissatisfaction appear by the dryness of his answers.

The next morning, as the Spaniard was waiting to be admitted to his audience, Digby took him aside, and appealed to him not to push matters to extremities. Spain, he said, had not a single friend in England but himself. The Court swarmed with Puritans. He must, however, speak plainly. The whole mischief was attributable to the conduct of the Spanish Government. His master had been anxious to repose confidence in Spain, but he had met with no response to his overtures. If he had been driven to make common cause with the Dutch in the East, it was because the Spaniards had turned a deaf ear to his offers.

Digby's remonstrance.

The name of the Palatinate had not been mentioned. But it is plain that Digby intended to intimate that on that question, too, the just demands of England must be satisfied, if James was not to be thrown into the hands of the war party. Such language from James would doubtless have had its effect; coming from Digby, Gondomar could afford to pass it by. He assumed in his reply that lofty tone which was his chief weapon. Spain, he said, had not behaved badly. Whatever blame there was lay with the King of England, who had broken the promises which he had made. It was in order to complain of his master's wrongs that he had returned to London; and he was ready to be cut in pieces in defence of the truth of his assertions.

At this point the conversation was interrupted. Digby was summoned into the King's presence, leaving the wily ambassador to congratulate himself on the probability that his words would be repeated, and would alarm James sufficiently to make his morning's work the easier.

He was not mistaken. The moment he entered the room, James began to speak, as if for the purpose of stopping his

mouth. "I hear," he said, "from Buckingham, that when you shook his hand you squeezed his sore finger hard enough to hurt him. I remember hearing that Lord Montague once did the same to Lord Treasurer Burghley when he had the gout." He then proceeded to interpret his parable. He was in a sad plight, and he must not be squeezed too hard. He had done everything in his power not to offend the King of Spain or the Emperor. He had tried not to do anything wrong; yet everybody was complaining of him. Four years ago he had been warned against Winwood, and now he had three hundred Winwoods in his palace. "I give you my word," he ended by saying, taking Gondomar's hand as he spoke, "as a king, as a gentleman, as a Christian, and as an honest man, that I have no wish to marry my son to anyone except your master's daughter, and that I desire no alliance but that of Spain." At these words he took off his hat, as if exhausted by the effort, and wiped his heated forehead with his handkerchief.

Gondomar's second audience.

This pitiable spectacle was enough for Gondomar. He saw that his work was done to his hand. He answered gravely that he was very sorry for what he had just heard. He could not, however, forget that His Majesty had the power to remedy these disorders, and that words, not followed by acts, were useless.

James blushed, as well he might. "All that is needed," he said, "is that we two should talk over these matters together." The conversation then took a different turn. At last James ventured to approach the great question of the day. "Do you think," he said, "that the Emperor intends to attack the Palatinate?" "What would you do," was the answer, "if anyone had taken London from you?" "Well," said James, "I hope that God will arrange everything for the best!" and with this demonstration of his helplessness he brought the audience to a close.[1]

The effect of this conversation was not long in showing

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., March $\frac{15}{25}$. *Simancas MSS.* 2600, fol. 65.

itself. The next day James despatched a letter to the Princes of the Union. No one was likely to attack them, he wrote, and he should, therefore, send them no assistance. He hoped to bring about a general pacification, which would make all warlike preparations needless.[1]

James's letter to the Princes of the Union.

Buwinckhausen was still in England. His indignation was great. "If this is the way," he said, "that the Princes are to be treated, the sooner they come to terms with the Emperor the better." He now asked for a categorical reply to certain questions. Would the Princes be allowed to levy troops in England? If they were attacked, would James fulfil his engagements? Did he mean that they were to provide for the defence of the Palatinate as well as for that of their own territories? Were they to submit to such terms as might be proposed by the French ambassadors who were about to be sent into Germany as mediators? If these included the dissolution of the Union, were they to obey?[2]

Buwinckhausen's demands.

James hesitated between his dislike of what was evidently becoming a religious war, and his desire to secure his daughter's inheritance from invasion. On March 21, Abbot told him that his refusal to send help was sheer desertion of the cause of God. He begged him to allow him at least to collect a voluntary contribution from the clergy. James could not find it in his heart to say No, and he gave permission, on the condition that his own name was not mentioned.[3]

A voluntary contribution.

Shortly afterwards James agreed to extend to the Princes the permission to levy volunteers, which had been granted to Gray in the King of Bohemia's name. Buwinckhausen asked how the expenses of the levy were to be met? "I do not wish, for many reasons," was the cautious reply, "that my name should be mentioned in the matter. But if you and Dohna will ask the City and the clergy for money, I

Volunteers for the Union.

[1] The King to the Princes of the Union, March 14, *Add. MSS.* 12, 485, fol. 406.

[2] Buwinckhausen to the King, March 14, *S. P. Germany.*

[3] Gondomar to Philip III., March $\frac{18.}{28.}$ This information is contained in a postscript written later.

will take care to make your way easy."[1] Thus encouraged, Buwinckhausen and Dohna hurried to the City to ask for a loan of 100,000*l*. Again the authorities, to whom the request was made, wished to know what the King had to say upon the subject, and the Lord Mayor and the Recorder were deputed to ask the question. "I will neither command you nor entreat you," was the answer which they received from James; "but if you do anything for my son-in-law, I shall take it kindly." The matter was then referred to the wardens of the several companies, in order that they might raise their quotas from the estates belonging to the various societies. But the wardens hesitated to make themselves responsible by the payment of public money on so slight a security as a verbal recommendation from the King. If they could have an Act of Parliament, or even an official warrant from the Privy Council, they would see what they could do.[2]

To this request no satisfactory reply was given, and everything remained at a standstill in the City. Abbot, not having to deal with corporate property, was less scrupulous. A circular was issued to the clergy by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and two other bishops, requesting contributions to a loan to be placed in Dohna's hands.[3]

The clergy asked for contributions.

It was a poor result of Buwinckhausen's mission. On March 23, he was dismissed by the King with a final answer to his demands. The Princes, James said, might levy as many volunteers as they pleased, but, for the present at least, they must expect no money from him. He must first be assured that they had renounced all aggressive designs. If they thought it right to defend the Palatinate, he should be well pleased at their doing so. When he saw the instructions given to the French ambassadors, he would give an opinion upon them. If the Emperor's demand

James replies to Buwinckhausen.

[1] Lando to the Doge, $\frac{\text{March } 24,}{\text{April } 3,}$ 1620, *Venice MSS.* Desp. Ingh.

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, March $\frac{17.}{27.}$ Chamberlain to Carleton, March 20. Nethersole to Carleton, March 21, 1620. *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 32, 33.

[3] The Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., to the Bishop of Peterborough, March 21 (?), 1620, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 34.

for a dissolution of the Union were a legal one, they had better submit to it; if not, he would help them to resist it.[1]

At this solemn trifling Buwinckhausen was deeply exasperated. Three times he sent back the present of plate which, as was customary at the departure of ambassadors, had been sent him by the King. At last he gave way ungraciously enough. If his Majesty, he said, was affronted at his refusal of the gift, he was ready to accept it; but he would leave it behind in Dohna's charge. He had no means to guard so much silver, and it would be conveyed more safely under the protection of the volunteers who were about to leave England for the defence of the Palatinate.[2]

James probably fancied that he had done nothing, and had incurred no responsibility. He was grievously mistaken. By his hesitating inaction, he had conveyed to Gondomar's mind the assurance that the Palatinate might be assailed without fear of interruption from England. If the Bohemian war grew into a German war, if the Thirty Years' War has rested as a dark blot upon the history of Europe, it is James who must share the heavy responsibility with Frederick and Maximilian.

Result of James's inaction.

Whilst James was hesitating, the public excitement was increasing as the reports of an approaching attack upon the Palatinate acquired consistency. On March 26 James went in state to hear the Bishop of London preach at Paul's Cross. Various rumours were afloat as to the reason for this unusual display. Some thought that an opportunity would be taken to announce the conclusion of the marriage treaty with Spain. Others were sanguine enough to expect a declaration in favour of the Bohemians. Those who were better informed knew that James merely wished to give effect to the Bishop's appeal for contributions for the repair of the ruinous fabric of the Cathedral, and for the rebuilding of the steeple which had been

[1] The King's reply to Buwinckhausen, March 23, 1620, *S. P. Germany.*

[2] Lando to the Doge, $\frac{\text{March 24,}}{\text{April 3,}}$ *Venice MSS.* Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{March 24,}}{\text{April 3,}}$ 1620.

destroyed by fire at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth.[1]

The Bishop's sermon.

The Bishop's text was selected by the King. "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." He had been strictly forbidden to touch upon the politics of the day. Yet, as he spoke of the necessity of prayer and action on behalf of the spiritual Zion, and exhorted his hearers to nourish the truth of the Gospel in every place, there were probably many present who would have responded to the words with which one of the bystanders recorded his impressions "The Bishop," he wrote, "said that there was not the poorest hewer of wood who would not give one penny out of twopence to build up the walls of Zion. He did not, he durst not apply it; but gave every man liberty to make the application; but I believe his heart was then in Bohemia."[2]

As far as the immediate object of the sermon was concerned, nothing whatever was effected. The hearts of many of the citizens, like the heart of their Bishop, may or may not have been in Bohemia. But, in spite of the appointment of commissioners[3] to watch over the restoration of the church, the money which had been asked for did not come in.

The contribution for the Palatinate.

There were other demands upon the purses of those who had listened to the sermon. Before he left the City, James, who had now taken up warmly the idea that he might assist his son-in-law without incurring any responsibility himself, asked the Aldermen to imitate the example of the clergy, and to raise a fund by voluntary contribution for the defence of the Palatinate. The difficulty which had stood in the way of the loan would thus be avoided, as there would be no need to ask for a formal authorisation of the Council when the money was no longer to be levied out of the public property of the companies.

The step taken by the clergy had already found imitators.

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, March 20, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 32.

[2] Young to Zouch, March 27, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 32.

[3] Commissions, April 15, Nov. 17, *Pat.* 18 Jac. I., Parts 9 and 6.

The Earl of Dorset had sent 500*l.* to Dohna, with an intimation that the payment would be continued for five years, if the war lasted so long. Similar offers had been made by others of the chief nobility. Still the Aldermen hung back. They were willing, they said, to give, but they disliked a renewal of the system of benevolences. Let Parliament be summoned, and it would then appear what they would do.[1]

At last, with some hesitation, they gave way. They were plainly told that they must not expect a Parliament, and they were unwilling to incur the responsibility of a refusal. Nominally, at least, the payment was to be voluntary. But it was soon seen that popular bodies were not slow in imitating the evil example which the Government had set. A house-to-house visitation made refusal difficult. Each citizen, in turn, was exhorted to show himself a good Christian by a liberal payment, and the names of those who refused to give were taken down, in order that they might be held up to public reprobation.[2]

Yet, with all this, money came in but slowly. 100,000*l.* had been expected The partisans of Spain had contented themselves with predicting that the contribution would not exceed 50,000*l.*[3] Yet, on April 28, four weeks after the collection had been commenced, only 13,000*l.* had been obtained.[4] The shortcoming may, perhaps, in some measure be attributed to the ordinary difficulties of raising money by voluntary subscription. But it can hardly be doubted that, however deeply the misfortunes of the continental Protestants were felt by individuals, the mass of the citizens were comparatively little affected by the distress of a country so distant and unknown as that mountain-girded land

April.

[1] Lando to the Doge, $\frac{\text{March 31,}}{\text{April 10,}}$ *Venice MSS.* Desph. Ingh. Nethersole to Carleton, March 21, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 33.

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{March 31}}{\text{April 10}}$.

[3] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, April $\frac{7}{17}$.

[4] Lando to the Doge, $\frac{\text{April 28,}}{\text{May 8,}}$ *Venice MSS.* Desp. Ingh. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{April 28}}{\text{May 8}}$.

which had not long ago been brought upon the stage as the scene of the shipwreck of the *Winter's Tale.*

Political suicide of James.

To this James had come at last. For seventeen years he had been carrying on what he had plainly seen to be a struggle for sovereignty. The issue which was being tried was whether England should be a monarchy under the forms of the old constitution, or a republic under the forms of the old monarchy. And now, at the first moment, when there was a call for the fulfilment of duties as well as for the assertion of rights, it was James who struck the first blow at his own pretensions. To have adopted an erroneous policy at such a crisis would have been bad enough. But to have no policy at all—to drift helplessly from side to side as the various arguments were presented to him that lay upon the outside of the problem, into the heart of which he was unable to look, and finally to throw the burden of decision and of action upon mayors and aldermen, upon country gentlemen and country clergymen—was an act of political suicide. By his own mouth, James had declared himself incapable of giving any guidance to the nation.

James's varying language.

During the weeks in which the fate of the Continent was being decided at Munich and Brussels, James presented a pitiable spectacle. One day he was stirred to passion by a rumour that his son-in-law had invited the Turks into Hungary. "If that be the case," he said, "I will myself declare war against him; and, if I die, my bones shall be carried in front of the army which is to attack him."[1] A few days afterwards he was calmly discussing the prospects of the mediation which he was about to undertake in conjunction with the French.[2] If he were to do more than this, he said, fresh provocation would be given to the Catholic powers, and they would enter into a closer confederacy than ever.[3]

Gondomar was in good spirits. He knew that whatever James might say, the neutrality of England was, for the time

[1] Tillieres' despatch, April $\frac{6}{16}$, Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, ii. 299.

[2] The King to the Duke of Lorraine, April 12, *Add. MSS.* 12, 485, fol. 42.

[3] Tillieres' despatch, April $\frac{16}{26}$, Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, ii. 300.

at least, secured. His next step was to bind more firmly the chains which he had laid upon James, by assuring him of his master's readiness to proceed with the marriage treaty, if only means could be found to satisfy the Pope. If James would give satisfactory assurances about the English Catholics, Lafuente would carry the treaty to Rome, and formally demand the dispensation. Of the liberty of worship, without which, as he well knew, the Pope's consent could not be obtained, the Spaniard said nothing. He knew that to ask for that would be to risk a complete breach, and he therefore left James to embody his resolution in his own words.[1]

Resumption of the marriage treaty.

On April 27 James sent the two Secretaries of State to Gondomar, to inform him that steps had already been taken to ameliorate the condition of the English Catholics. In consequence of his irritation at the return of the banished priests, the promise which he had given Gondomar, that he would put an end to the exactions of the pursuivants, had not been fulfilled. That form of persecution, however, was now to come to an end. Commissions were to be issued to inquire into the misdeeds of these harpies, and to take in hand the leasing of the recusants' lands, and the compositions for offences against the penal laws. The Catholics would thus have the advantage of dealing with an official body instructed to act with moderation, instead of with greedy courtiers, who had obtained grants of forfeitures, and who had pushed to the extreme the legal rights which they had thus acquired.[2] All persons refusing to take the oath of allegiance were to be set at liberty on condition that they would leave the kingdom within forty days.[3]

Improved treatment of the Catholics.

On the following day, Gondomar received another visit.

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{March } 23}{\text{April } 2}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

[2] Statement of the vexations inflicted on recusants, May, *S. P. Dom.* cxv. 9. Commission to enquire into informers, &c., May 13, *Rymer*, xvii. 212. Commission to lease recusants' lands, May 14, *Pat.* Jac. I., Part 18.

[3] There were ten of them. Order for release, April 24, *Rymer* xvii. 193.

Buckingham and Digby brought with them a letter from James to the King of Spain, in which he promised that the future Princess of Wales and her servants should enjoy the free exercise of their religion within the walls of the palace which was to be assigned to her. Besides this, no Catholic should suffer death for conscience' sake. It was impossible to repeal the penal laws without consent of Parliament, but they should be mitigated in practice, and all complaints should receive due attention.[1] Buckingham who, though he wished to see the Palatinate preserved from invasion, was anxious to keep on good terms with Spain, assured the ambassador that it was impossible for the King to go farther than this. If he did, the people would rise in insurrection, and would cut all the Catholics in pieces.

April 28. James declares his intentions about the Catholics.

In reply, Gondomar took high ground. It was impossible, he said, to believe that James really wished for peace with Spain. Piracy was never more rife, or the attacks upon Spanish trade in the East and West Indies more incessant. Was not Captain North now bound for the Amazon, with the King's commission,[2] no doubt to do what Raleigh had done before him? Were not the drums even then beating in the streets to gather soldiers to fight for the Palatine in Bohemia? Was not the King himself in constant correspondence with the enemies of the Emperor in Germany, and was he not urging them to resist the Emperor's designs. The English had now the advantages of peace and war at the same time. The King of Spain did not want such a peace as that. God had given him power enough to fight all the nations of the world together. He had hardy mariners amongst his subjects, and if he was provoked, it would be as easy for them to attack England as it would be for Englishmen to attack Spain. If James wished to maintain peace, he must change his ways. If he wished the Infanta to marry his son, he must satisfy Philip in respect to religion.

Gondomar's reply.

Such was the appearance of James's policy in the eyes of

[1] The King to Philip III., April 27, Prynne's *Hidden Works of Darkness*, 8.

[2] See p. 348.

Gondomar. The Spaniard hit the mark in saying that it attempted to combine the advantages of peace and war at the same time. When he ended, Buckingham acknowledged that he could not deny that in many things the ambassador had spoken truly. Digby knew that there was another side to the question. If James, he said, granted to the Catholics all that Gondomar wished, England would be Catholic, and mass would be said publicly in the churches. Whether this was true or not, at all events it was the prevalent belief in England that it was true.

On May 6, Gondomar had an interview with the King himself, at which the Prince was present as well as Buckingham.

May 6. Gondomar's interview with the King.

James complained much of his misfortune in having to deal with the troubles in Germany, and assured the ambassador that the Catholics should in future be as little molested as his other subjects. He pressed Gondomar to say what it was that would content the King of Spain in matters of religion. Gondomar did not venture to say that nothing short of liberty of worship would be accepted. All that he could do, as he informed his master in describing the scene, was so to frame his answers as to prevent James from imagining that he was well satisfied with the proposal to which he had been listening.

Gondomar knew that if he could win the Prince to change his religion it would matter little what James might say or do.

Gondomar's opinion of the Prince.

He was, however, obliged to confess that he could, at present, see no likelihood of this. Charles, he said, was on terms of the closest familiarity with him, and assured him that he would never persecute the Catholics; but he had had a bad education, and was a confirmed heretic.

Nevertheless, the Spaniard was inclined to put more trust in the son than in the father. No one could be sure that what

James's language about persecution.

James said one day he would not unsay the next. Though at one time he assured Gondomar that he meant to do much more for the Catholics than he had promised, at another time, in the presence of some Protestants, he expressed his surprise that the Spanish ambassador should have talked about persecution as existing in England. It was not persecution, he said, to carry out the

laws. Gondomar replied that it was persecution to take away life and estate from those who were living honestly and as loyal subjects. At all events, if these laws were to be executed, it was needless to take any further trouble about the marriage treaty.

What to recommend to Philip, Gondomar hardly knew. He foresaw the evil result of a breach, and yet he did not see how a breach could be averted. On the whole, he recommended that Lafuente should go to Rome for the dispensation. It was impossible even in this way to gain very much time, as James was sure to be impatient. Still, in the mean time, the King might die, and his son might be converted. If this did not happen the Pope might make it a condition of the dispensation that James should summon Parliament to confirm his concessions to the Catholics, and to agree that these concessions should be actually put in force for a whole year before the Infanta arrived.

Gondomar's advice to his master.

In giving this advice, Gondomar unwittingly revealed the unreal nature of the compact which he was striving to effect. He knew how to deal with persons, but he did not know how to deal with a nation. He expected great things from the hope which the Prince had already held out to him, of coming in person to Madrid to claim his bride. He did not understand the national feeling in England, and he fancied that it was enough that the greater number of the old nobility of England were either openly or secretly Catholics.[1] Gondomar, however, was made to feel that the good-will of James was not everything in England. He pleaded against the support which had been given to Captain North's expedition to the Amazon, and his objections were supported by Digby, who was wise enough to see that no good could come of an attempt to establish an English trade in the midst of the Spanish Indies. But North, like Raleigh, had powerful friends at Court, and before the order for stopping his voyage was issued, he had slipped out of Plymouth harbour, and was well on his way across the Atlantic. When it was too late, a proclamation was

May. Expedition of Captain North.

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., May $\frac{12}{22}$, *Madrid Palace Library.*

issued to arrest him, and his brother, Lord North, was imprisoned for a few days, on the charge of complicity with his evasion.[1]

Gondomar pleads for Lake.

Even Gondomar's influence with the King had its limits. He was extremely anxious to see his old friend and pensioner Lake restored to office. But though James consented to re-admit Lake to Court, and to a certain degree of favour, he resolutely refused to give him back the Secretaryship.[2] To a request that he would show indulgence to Lady Lake, who had not yet acknowledged the justice of her sentence, he was equally deaf. "As for my Lady Lake," he said, "I must both confess to have pronounced an unjust sentence, and break my promise to my Lady Exeter in a matter of justice, if I grant her any ease at this time. Besides this cause hath no respect to religion, except the Romish religion be composed of the seven deadly sins, for I dare swear she is guilty of them all. If Spain trouble me with suits of this nature, both against my justice and honour, their friendship will be more burdensome than useful to me."[3]

Fresh application from the Union.

The Princes of the Union were not likely to be content with James's reception of their appeal for help. Towards the end of April they applied to him again. The Duke of Bavaria, it was now known, had come to terms with the Elector of Saxony, and they had every reason to fear the worst. Nothing, however, could induce James to take a decided course. In private he assured Dohna that if the Princes were really attacked he would send twenty or thirty thousand men to help them; whilst to the Princes

[1] Sanchez to the King, Feb. 19; Sanchez to Buckingham, Feb. 19, *S.P. Spain.* Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 26, *S.P. Dom.* cxii. 104. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, May $\frac{12}{22}$, $\frac{18}{28}$. Proclamation, May 15, *Rymer*, xvii. 215. The Council to the Warden of the Fleet, May 21, 1620, *Council Register.*

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, May $\frac{18}{28}$. Woodward to Windebank, May 22, *S.P. Dom.* cxv. 50.

[3] The King to Buckingham, *Halliwell's Letters of the Kings of England*, ii. 149. The letter is without a date, but it may be safely assigned to April or May, 1620.

themselves he despatched a long scolding letter, warning them not to make an unprovoked assault upon their neighbours, but entirely omitting all reference to the point at issue—the anticipated invasion of the Palatinate.

James's conversation with Gondomar.

In Gondomar's presence James forgot everything except the wickedness of his son-in-law's usurpation. "You have good cause," he one day said to him, "to complain of the treatment of the English Catholics, of Captain North's voyage, and of the aid which has been given to the Palatinate. But it is not my fault. It is all the doing of the traitors around me. For the wrongs of the Catholics you must lay the blame upon the Archbishop, who is a godless Puritan. North was permitted to escape by that traitor Buckingham. He is young and inexperienced, and he sold him a passport." Buckingham was then called into the room. "George," said the King, "why did you sell a passport without telling me?" "Because," answered Buckingham in the same jesting tone, "you never give me any money yourself." James pulled his hair, kissed him twice, and told him to leave the room.

All this was sufficiently undignified; but its impolicy was nothing to what followed. "The Palatine," said James, "is a godless man, and a usurper. I will give him no help. It is much more reasonable that he, young as he is, should listen to an old man like me, and do what is right by surrendering Bohemia, than that I should be involved in a bad cause. The Princes of the Union want my help; but I give you my word that they shall not have it."[1]

He is urged to defend the Palatinate.

Such language was not likely to pass unchallenged. James was daily urged by the war party to issue a declaration of his intention to preserve from invasion the hereditary dominions of his son-in-law. Let an army of ten or twelve thousand men, it was said, be sent to Heidelberg or Mannheim, with strict orders to take no part in the struggle in Bohemia. If this was impossible, let a garrison of a thousand men be thrown into Heidelberg: the mere

[1] Tillieres' Despatch, $\frac{\text{May } 26,}{\text{June } 5,}$ 1620, Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, ii. 300.

presence of the English flag would be enough to deter the Spaniards from their purpose.

This proposal was certain to be rejected by James. It was the more unpalatable to him as he was asked to give the command to Southampton whom he thoroughly detested. As usual he fell back upon half-measures. He would allow Dohna, if he wished it, to levy a body of volunteers at his own cost, and to issue a circular to the whole kingdom, calling upon the gentry to imitate the example of the London citizens by contributing to the expenses of the force.[1] He would think seriously of sending ambassadors to bring about a pacification, and he would order Trumbull to put a direct question to the Archduke Albert as to the future movements of the army which was preparing to take the field under Spinola's command. At the same time he assured Gondomar privately that he did not expect much from the ambassadors, except that the sending of them would serve to keep quiet those who were giving him so much trouble at home. After this it is no wonder that Gondomar wrote home at once, recommending an immediate attack on the Palatinate.[2]

His refusal.

The general contribution and the volunteers for the Palatinate.

Gondomar had no reason to be dissatisfied. If, for form's sake, he uttered loud protests against the enrolment of the volunteers, he was inwardly congratulating himself upon this fresh evidence of James's weakness.[3] The fears of English intervention, which had been the object of so much consultation at Madrid in the previous year, had ceased to be seriously entertained. The Court of Brussels had learned to treat James as disrespectfully as Gondomar himself had ever done. It was not till June 19 that the Archduke deigned to reply to Trumbull's inquiries. He had always

June.

Answer of the Archduke Albert.

[1] Dohna to the Lord Lieutenant of Northampton, May 31, 1620, *S. P. Germany.*

[2] Gondomar to Philip III., June $\frac{8}{18}$, June $\frac{27}{\text{July } 7}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 31, 36; Dohna to Packer, May 27, 1620, *S. P. Germany.*

[3] Buckingham to Gondomar, June $\frac{20}{30}$; Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{June } 27}{\text{July } 7}$. *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 36.

been desirous, he said, to remain on good terms with the King of England. He hoped, therefore, that in order that no jealousy might spring up between them, James would persuade his son-in-law to submit to reason. This answer, in which all mention of the invasion of the Palatinate was as carefully avoided as it had been by James in his letter to the Princes of the Union, could leave no doubt in any reasonable mind as to the Spanish intentions.[1]

The Dutch offers.

To the Dutch, at least, no doubt was any longer possible. James, as his manner was, had asked them to defend the Palatinate, without signifying any intention of taking a direct part in the war himself. They replied that they could do nothing alone. Twelve thousand men were the utmost that they could spare. If James would send but six thousand Englishmen, a sufficient force would be collected to enable the Princes of the Union to defend themselves. Less than this would be entirely useless.[2] A few days later, on the very day on which the Archduke was replying to Trumbull at Brussels, Carleton was able to forward to Naunton a detailed list of the forces which the Dutch offered to bring into the field. "What more," wrote Carleton, with scarcely concealed irony, "can be from hence—I say not expected but—desired? I will make no doubt but if his Majesty lay this aside in his wisdom, he seeth other ways to attain to the same end. Kings are gods upon earth, and they have this property, to see when mortals are fearful beyond measure; but, in the mean time, those must be pardoned for their fear and apprehension, who know no more than I do."[3]

They are refused by the King.

To this appeal Naunton's reply was most desponding. James had just arrived from a hard day in the saddle when Carleton's despatch was placed in his hands. He was much obliged to the Dutch, he said, for their offers; but he supposed that they only wanted to

[1] Trumbull to Naunton, June 17, 21. The Archduke Albert to the King, June 19, 1620; *S. P. Flanders.*

[2] Carleton to Naunton, June 12, *Carleton Letters*, 469; Carleton to the King, June 14, 1620, *S. P. Holland.*

[3] Carleton to Naunton, June 19, 1620, *S. P. Holland.*

entangle him in some engagement. Perhaps they had not heard that he had allowed volunteers to be levied for the Palatinate. Naunton pointed to a paragraph which showed that they were perfectly aware of this; but that they thought that the small force that could in this way be raised would be entirely useless. James fell back upon his old excuses. He was quite sure that Spinola would march straight for Bohemia without meddling with the Palatinate. Even if the Dutch were in the right, what could he do more than had been done already? They talked of supplying him with munitions of war. He did not see anything in their letter about supplying him with money. If they would do that, they might have as many English volunteers as they pleased.[1]

James's love of inaction, and his irresoluteness of mind, will account for much; but, strange as his conduct was, it can only be fully accounted for by his entire confidence in Gondomar. During his whole life, wherever he placed his confidence, he placed it without stint, and he was now persuaded that, whatever happened, Gondomar would see that he suffered no wrong. He could not believe that when once his son-in-law had been brought, either by persuasion or by force, to abandon his unjust claim to Bohemia, the Spanish Government would not be as anxious as he was himself to secure the possession of the Palatinate to its legitimate ruler.

It was something more than his usual dislike of anything that disturbed his repose which at this moment embittered James against the Dutch. News had recently arrived[2] of the outrages committed upon English vessels by Dutch commanders in the East, in spite of their knowledge of the opening of the conference in London. The King had been deeply irritated, and had been encouraged in his irritation by Buckingham, to whom political motives were as nothing in comparison with personal motives, and who saw in the sufferings of the English sailors an insult to himself as Lord High Admiral of England. Suddenly the war

The news from the East Indies.

Buckingham's desertion of the war party.

[1] Naunton to Carleton, June 26, *S. P. Holland.*

[2] About the middle of May. Woodward to Windebank, May 22, *S. P. Dom.* cxv. 50.

party discovered that their powerful advocate was growing cool in the cause. Only a few weeks had passed since the King had been hardly able to restrain him from heading the list of contributions for the defence of the Palatinate with a magnificent donation of 10,000*l.*, and now he was deep in the confidence of Gondomar, and responding eagerly to the hard things which it pleased the Spaniard to say about Frederick and his partisans. In return, he was compelled to listen to language long unheard, and to know that the men who had been his staunch friends in his contest with the Howards, were murmuring against the exorbitant influence which he exercised over the King.[1]

Buckingham's courtship of Lady Catherine Manners.

To some extent, perhaps, Buckingham's change of temper—it can hardly be dignified with the name of a change of policy—may be attributed to his recent marriage with a Roman Catholic lady. His match-making mother had suggested to him that he would find a suitable wife in Lady Catherine Manners, the daughter of the Earl of Rutland. Her high birth would cast a lustre upon the son of a Leicestershire squire; and it was to be hoped that the child of the wealthiest nobleman in England would bring with her a portion such as was rarely to be found to the west of Temple Bar. Lady Buckingham, however, acted as though she were conferring rather than asking a favour. Her terms were high. She must have 10,000*l.* in ready money, and land worth 4,000*l.* a-year. Yet, strange as she probably thought it, the Earl showed no anxiety to strike a bargain. He was himself a strict Roman Catholic, and Lady Catherine had been educated in her father's creed. To make matters worse, the King openly declared that his favourite should not marry a recusant. Buckingham's wife, he said, must go to church.[2]

There happened to be a man about the Court who saw his own opportunity in Lady Buckingham's difficulties. John Williams, the youngest son of a Welsh gentleman, had come

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{June } 27,}{\text{July } 7,}$ *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 36.

[2] Brent to Carleton, Aug. 20, 1619. Nethersole to Carleton, Jan 20, 1620, *S. P. Dom.* cx. 22; cxii. 20. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 28, \text{ Feb. } 11}{\text{Feb. } 7, \text{ „ } 21, \text{ Feb. } 23}$ March 4.

up to Cambridge to study, had taken orders, and had attracted Ellesmere's notice by his ability. The Chancellor had made him his chaplain. When Ellesmere died, Bacon offered to renew the appointment, but Williams, whose ambition was not satisfied with his position, declined the offer, and, through the influence of Bishop Montague, obtained a nomination as one of the royal chaplains. From that moment his fortune was made. He was the very man to win James's favour. He was not only an immense reader, but a ready and fluent talker. Multifarious as were the subjects which James loved to chat over, Williams was at home amongst them all. Whether the subject of conversation was the last work of Bellarmine, the latest news from Heidelberg or Vienna, or the newest scandal at Court, he had always something to say, and that something was sure to please. Amongst the minor difficulties of statesmanship his shrewdness was seldom at fault. His eye was quick to discern the narrow path of safety. But his intellect was keen, without being strong. In those powers of imagination which distinguish genius from talent he was entirely deficient. He was of the earth, earthy. The existence of any firm belief, either religious or political, was altogether incomprehensible to him, and after years of experience he dashed himself to pieces against the persistent singlemindedness of Laud, and the no less persistent singlemindedness of the Puritans of the Long Parliament, as a bird dashes itself against a window-pane from very ignorance that it is there.

Rise of Williams.

For the present, however, the way was clear before him. He made himself indispensable to the King. One day James dropped a hint that, if he wished to rise at Court, he had better secure a place in Buckingham's regard. Upon this hint Williams acted. Belvoir Castle was not far from his rectory of Walgrave, and he was already known to the Earl of Rutland. He used what influence he possessed to smooth down the difficulties in the way of the match. Long afterwards, he was accustomed to boast that it was owing to his intervention that Lady Buckingham's exorbitant demands were finally conceded. But it is not probable that he had much to do with these financial arrangements.

His intervention in favour of the marriage.

Upon the death of her brother in March, Lady Catherine was left the only surviving child of the Earl. Under these circumstances it hardly needed Williams's persuasive tongue to urge him to make over a larger portion to his daughter than he would have been willing to do in his son's lifetime.

The religious difficulty was still unsolved, and to this Williams now applied himself. He was not despondent. He knew that Lady Catherine was deeply in love with Buckingham, and that she only wanted an excuse to yield. The method which he adopted was characteristic of himself. A Puritan would have denounced the Pope as Antichrist. Laud would have protested against the burden which the Church of Rome was laying upon the conscience by imposing its own traditions as articles of faith. Williams took the easier course of praising the catechism, and of pointing out the excellence of the forms under which the marriage service was conducted. For the moment his success was all that could be desired. Whether the conversion which he effected was likely to be permanent was a question which he, perhaps, hardly cared to ask.[1]

His interviews with Lady Catherine.

Still, however, there were obstacles in the way of the marriage. Rutland was deeply irritated at the possibility of his daughter's apostasy. Whilst he was in this mood he was told that the young lady had left the house in the morning in company with Lady Buckingham, and had not returned at night. The fact seems to have been that she had been taken ill, and had been kept by Lady Buckingham in her own apartment till the next morning.[2] But the angry father was not to be convinced. His daughter, he fancied, having first abandoned her religion, had consummated her guilt by sacrificing her own chastity and the honour of her family to the impatience of her lover. He refused to admit her again into his house, and forced her to take refuge with Lady Buckingham. Upon Buckingham himself he poured

Quarrel between Buckingham and Rutland.

[1] Hacket, *Life of Williams*, 41.

[2] This was the story told by Lady Buckingham, and, judging by her son's language afterwards, I see no reason to doubt its accuracy. Sir E. Zouch to Lord Zouch, March 23, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 38.

out his indignation in no measured terms. But for the intervention of the Prince, the two noblemen would have come to blows.[1] Rutland insisted that the marriage should take place immediately, as the only way to clear his daughter's fame. Buckingham replied that Lady Catherine's fame was safe from everything except her father's tongue; and that, if he was to be spoken to in such a style, he would have nothing more to do with the match.[2] When he was by himself, he was inclined to treat the whole affair as a jest. He drew up a petition on the subject, which he presented to the King. "I most humbly beseech your Majesty," he wrote, "that, for the preserving me from the foul blemish of unthankfulness, you would lay a strait charge upon my Lord of Rutland to call home his daughter again, or at least I may be secured that, in case I should marry her, I may have so much respite of time given me as I may see one act of wisdom in the foresaid lord, as may put me in hope that of his stock I may some time beget one able to serve you in some mean employment."[3]

To all this there was only one ending possible. Lady Catherine declared that she was convinced by the arguments which she had heard, and received the communion according to the rites of the English Church.[4] On May 16 the couple were married by Williams. After all that had passed, it was thought inexpedient that there should be any public festivities, and no one but the King and the bride's father was present at the wedding.[5] Williams received the deanery of Westminster in reward for his services.

May. Buckingham's marriage.

Whether Buckingham's marriage had any part in his desertion of the popular party is a matter of conjecture. But there can be no doubt that at this time his vanity had con-

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{March } 24}{\text{April } 3}$.

[2] Buckingham to Rutland, March (?), Goodman, *Court of King James*, ii. 191.

[3] Buckingham to the King, March (?), *Harl. MSS.* 6986, fol. 112.

[4] Chamberlain to Carleton, April 29, *S. P. Dom.* cxiii. 92.

[5] "Si tiene segreto per taciti respetti." Salvetti's *News-Letter*, June $\frac{1}{11}$.

ceived a special irritation against Frederick. He had been annoyed, because, in the midst of his multifarious occupations, the new King of Bohemia had not found time to write to him.[1] A fresh offence had now been added. As long as it was supposed that James might be induced to send troops in his own name into the Palatinate, the favourite had been besieged with applications for the command. He had engaged to give his support to Sir Edward Cecil, a son of the Earl of Exeter, whose family had stood by him in his contest with the Howards. The choice, however, of a commander was no longer in the hands of the King, and Dohna declined to entrust his master's forces to Cecil.

Buckingham intends Cecil to command the volunteers.

The ambassador's choice fell upon Sir Horace Vere, who had not even asked for the appointment. It seems that Dohna had private reasons for passing over Cecil, who had, in some way or another, given personal offence to Elizabeth,[2] but his decision was fully justified upon military grounds. Both Vere and Cecil had long served in the army of the States, and Cecil had commanded the English contingent at the siege of Juliers. Such, however, was Vere's reputation, as the first English soldier of the day, that, as soon as his appointment was known, the foremost of the young nobility were pressing forward for the honour of serving as subordinates under so distinguished a captain.

June. Appointment of Vere.

Vere's military capacity was his smallest qualification for command. To perform his duty strictly, and to allow no personal disputes or vanities to distract him, were the objects which he set before him.

It was not long before Cecil justified Dohna's wisdom in rejecting him. His own imagination had already placed him in command of the expedition. Secure of Buckingham's good word, he had gone about prating of the honours in store for him, and had even distributed commissions among his friends. Furious at his disappointment, he vented his ill-humour upon Dohna, assailed him with un-

July. Quarrel between Cecil and Dohna.

[1] Nethersole to Buckingham, Aug. 11, *S. P. Germany.*

[2] Young to Zouch, June 14, *S. P. Dom.* cxv. 73. Roe to Elizabeth, June 7, *S. P. Germany.* Vere to Carleton, June 14, *S. P. Holland.*

seemly abuse, and gave him to understand that it was only his character as an ambassador which protected him from a demand for personal satisfaction. Buckingham took the matter up warmly, and, as his manner was, treated the rejection of his nominee as a personal insult to himself. The estrangement between the volatile favourite and the popular party was complete.[1]

By this time Gondomar must have formed a tolerably correct estimate of Buckingham's character. Yet even Gondomar can scarcely have been prepared for the overtures now made to him. One day, in the second or third week in June, Buckingham, bringing Digby with him, came to pay him a private visit. Buckingham was greatly excited, and began to talk about the treatment of the English sailors in the East. He was obliged, he said, for very shame, to go about the streets in a covered chair. "It is all your fault," was Gondomar's reply, "and the fault of your master. The Dutch have robbed England of her fisheries, of her trade, and of her gold. The next thing they will do will be to carry off the country itself and to make a republic of it." The words had the effect which Gondomar desired. "I hope," said Buckingham, "that the King of Spain will not renew his truce with the Dutch next spring." "Why," replied the cunning diplomatist, "should not the King of England declare war upon them as well?" The bait was eagerly taken, and the terms of an alliance were discussed. As some difficulty arose, Digby, who can hardly have looked with much satisfaction upon the scene, broke in. "Why," he said, "they used to tell me at Madrid that your master would willingly make over the revolted provinces to England for a very small consideration." Gondomar at first shook his head, but by degrees appeared to relent. If James would give real assistance towards the conquest of the country, one or two provinces might perhaps be assigned to him as a reward for his services. The offer was, after some hesitation, accepted on condition that the two provinces should be Holland and Zealand.

June. Buckingham complains to Gondomar.

Plan for the partition of the Netherlands.

[1] Account by Dohna of his conversation with Cecil, July (?). Cecil's account, July 31. Cecil to Buckingham, July 31 (?), *S. P. Holland.*

The next question was how James was to be brought to take part in the conspiracy. Gondomar doubted whether he could be trusted to keep the secret. Buckingham replied that the King was no longer on good terms with the Dutch, and that, before trusting him, he would make him swear not to reveal the mystery.

Buckingham was as good as his word. James swore to hold his tongue, seemed pleased with what he heard, and asked that the Prince of Wales might participate in the secret. The result was that Buckingham was sent back to the ambassador to beg him to write to Madrid for further instructions. The King, he was to say, embraced the scheme with pleasure, and would further engage not to meddle any more with the West Indies, if the King of Spain would agree that the East Indies should be fairly divided between the two nations.[1]

James assents to it.

In his childish delight at having discovered a chance of taking vengeance on the Dutch, James had closed his eyes to the bearing of his conduct upon the tangled web of the German difficulty. He held long and anxious consultations with Gondomar. At last he hit upon a plan which, as he thought, was certain to be crowned with success. He calculated that there were 8,000 Englishmen in the Dutch service. He would send orders to their officers to rise on a given day, and to seize the strong places which were entrusted to their charge. A powerful fleet, under Buckingham's command, should be sent to the assistance of the mutineers, and a numerous army, with the Prince of Wales at its head, would soon put an end to all further resistance. Such was the plan which, at the moment when the very existence of Protestantism was at stake over half the Continent, an English King thought himself justified in proposing to the great enemy of the Protestant cause.[2]

July. The plan of attack.

This astounding proposal, the infamy of which was only equalled by its imbecility, was laid by Gondomar before the

[1] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{June } 27}{\text{July } 7}$, *Brussels MSS.*

[2] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{July } 22}{\text{Aug. } 1}$, *ibid.*

Court of Madrid, and, in due course of business, was forwarded to Brussels for the consideration of the Archduke Albert.[1] For the straightforward mind of the Archduke the scheme possessed no attractions. He was curious to know, he observed, where the King of England proposed to find the fleet and army of which he talked so glibly. As to the 8,000 English soldiers in the Netherlands, they were scattered over the country, and could effect but little. Nor was it likely that even their King's orders would induce them to act as traitors to the Republic which they had served faithfully for so many years.[2]

December. Remarks of the Archduke Albert.

Before the scheme was brought under the Archduke's notice, much had changed. The plot had been abandoned, if it had not been forgotten, by its author. As for Gondomar, all he wanted was to amuse James for the moment, and his object had been fully gained.

At the time when he first began to lend an ear to this disgraceful project, James openly announced his plan of sending out ambassadors to pacify the Continent. Sir Henry Wotton was to return to his post at Venice, and was to stop at Vienna on his way, in order to put an end to the war in Bohemia. Sir Edward Conway and Sir Richard Weston were to visit Brussels and the States on the Rhine in company. From thence they were to pass on through Dresden to Prague, from which place it was hoped that they would be able to open communications with Wotton at Vienna.

June. The embassies.

It was an utterly hopeless task; so hopeless that it is hardly worth while to take note of the inefficiency of the ambassadors. Wotton indeed could write in an easy and flowing style. His opinions were moderate, and his thoughts free from extravagance. For the embassy at Venice, where there was nothing to do but to chronicle for his master's amusement the passing events of the day, he was admirably fitted; but in a diplomatic mission of importance he was sadly out of place. He never even found out how extremely ridiculous his

Sir Henry Wotton.

[1] Philip III. to the Archduke Albert, Oct. $\frac{10}{20}$, *Brussels MSS.*

[2] The Archduke Albert to Philip III., Dec. $\frac{18}{28}$, *ibid.*

present embassy was. He went about his work under the impression that he was going to be of some use. When he left England, he boasted to the officers of Vere's regiment, that he was about to do that which would keep their swords in their scabbards.[1]

Sir Edward Conway.

Conway was an old soldier, who had commanded the garrison at Brill before the surrender of the cautionary towns. He had imbibed in Holland a thorough dislike of Spain, which saved him the trouble of thinking out a policy for himself. His mind was devoid of all originality of thought. In an age when everyone stooped to flatter the magnificent favourite, Conway surpassed them all in fulsomeness of phrase.

Sir Richard Weston.

Weston was destined to rise to higher dignities than either Wotton or Conway. His was one of those natures which the possession of power serves only to deteriorate. At present he was favourably known as a good man of business. He had been a collector of the customs in the port of London, and had taken part in the late reforms of the navy.

The Spanish party.

Weston owed his present appointment to the favour with which he was regarded by Gondomar. Yet, as far as it is possible to judge from the evidence which has reached us, neither he nor the other politicians who at this time formed what was called the Spanish party, had any wish to see Spain the mistress of the Continent, far less to place the government of England in the hands of the Spanish ambassador. They looked with justifiable dislike upon an aggressive and sectarian hostility against the Catholic States; and desired by entering upon a good understanding with the chief Catholic Power, to make a religious war impossible for the future. They were unfortunate, not so much from the badness of their cause as from the inefficiency of their leader. A King of England of practical ability, who knew how to mingle firmness with conciliation, might perhaps have made his voice heard by the contending parties. With James at their head, Digby and Calvert, Weston and Cranfield were alike foredoomed to toil in vain.

Wotton started on June 28. He visited the South German

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, July 8, *S. P. Dom.* cxvi. 13.

Courts with due deliberation, and finally reached Vienna, where he proposed, with all fitting gravity, terms which were utterly unacceptable to both sides. He was able to write a few lengthy despatches. But he never had a chance of doing any serious work.

Wotton's proceedings.

The mediation in Bohemia with which Wotton had been charged, was beyond the powers of any man. The mission of Conway and Weston was of a more practical nature. They were entrusted with a protest, to be delivered at Brussels, against the invasion of the Palatinate, and their protest was to be supported by a vigorous remonstrance at Madrid.[1]

Conway and Weston's mission.

James, however, had been careful that the words of his ambassadors should be taken for no more than they were worth. Under Gondomar's manipulation, his mind was thoroughly bewildered; and Gondomar could always work upon James's strong feeling that his son-in-law's assumption of the crown of Bohemia was unjust. He had never ceased to assert that the invasion of the Palatinate was the only road to peace. "It is an idea," he said on one occasion, "only fit for a book of knight-errantry, to imagine that the Palatine is to remain quietly at Prague, and that we are not to dislodge him by every means in our power. Let Bohemia be restored to its rightful owner, and the war will be at an end."[2] But he professed to know nothing of the intentions of the Spanish Government. So far as he was aware, he asserted, no decision had been taken. His own impression was, that Spinola's troops would march straight upon Bohemia. He had himself written to Brussels to urge the abandonment of the attack upon the Palatinate.

Blindness of James.

James did not wish to see through all this. Gondomar's personal assurances seemed to him all-sufficient. "If Spinola touches the Palatinate," he was one day heard to say, "the Count of Gondomar is a man without faith, and without God."[3]

[1] Aston to Carleton, $\frac{\text{July } 30}{\text{Aug. } 9}$, *S. P. Spain.*

[2] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{June } 27}{\text{July } 7}$, *Simancas MSS.* 1601, fol. 36.

[3] "Tuttavia l'istesso Ambasciator di Spagna professa con sua Maestà

Whilst James was talking, the French Government had been acting on the side of the Catholic powers. With Louis sympathy with his co-religionists was a still more powerful motive than hostility to Spain. Early in July, just after Conway and Weston had started on their bootless errand, news arrived in London that, through the mediation of Louis's ambassadors, a treaty had been signed at Ulm, on June 23, between the Union and the League.

The Treaty of Ulm.

The forces of the Duke of Bavaria would now be free to march upon Prague without fear of molestation in the rear. Of still greater importance was it, that the Archduke Albert was not included in the treaty. That the omission was intentional there could be no doubt whatever. Even James could hardly shut his eyes any longer to Spinola's aim. Yet at the moment when it was in his power to localise the strife, and to prevent the Bohemian war from growing into a German war, he was silent. It was plain that he at least would not be the peacemaker of Europe.

The Treaty of Ulm was not without effect in England. Up to this time, the contributions for the payment of Vere's troops had come in but slowly. The whole sum which had been levied from the counties did not exceed 10,000*l.* In consequence Dohna had been compelled to

July. Embarkation of Vere.

che lo Spinola non anderà all aggressione di esso Palatinato ancioche a lei stessa pure soggionga che questo sarebbe il vero modo per fare la pace, havendo giurato et scongiurato più volte di havere scritto in Fiandra perchè non invada. Onde il Rè l'alterhieri a suoi favoriti di ciò parlando dice, o che Spinola non assalerà il Palatinato, o che il Conde di Gondomar è senza fede, è senza Dio." Lando to the Doge, July $\frac{9}{19}$, *Venice MSS.* I have not ventured to put Gondomar's assurances as strongly as this. Upon comparison with his own despatches, and with his decided language when the King afterwards taxed him with having misled him, I have little doubt that he took care to put his assurances as proceeding personally from himself. This would correspond with the language used at Brussels to Conway and Weston. That Gondomar had in some way or other asserted that Spinola was going to Bohemia, is evident from Caron's despatch of September $\frac{14}{24}$. "Den Spaenschen Ambassadeur," he writes, "hadde haer altyt verseeckert dat syne forcen tegen den Coninck van Bohemen ende tot secours van den Keyser souden gaen." *Add. MSS.* 17,677K, fol. 66.

announce that even if this sum were considerably increased he would only be able to provide for a regiment of 2,000 men, instead of a force of double that number which he had hoped to take with him across the sea. The news which now arrived from Germany touched to the quick those who had hitherto hung back. 7,000*l.* was subscribed in a single week. On July 22, the little force embarked for Holland, from whence it was to be escorted to the seat of war by a body of Dutch cavalry.

Amongst the officers who took service under Vere were to be found the dissolute and reckless Earl of Oxford, fresh from his dissipations at Venice, and the sturdy, half-Puritan Earl of Essex. In this enterprise there was room alike for the spirit which twenty years afterwards animated the Parliamentary bands, and for the spirit which inspired the troopers who followed Rupert to the charge.

James's feelings.

The Treaty of Ulm wrought no change in James which was of the slightest consequence. In June he had refused to believe that the Palatinate would be invaded at all. In July he refused to believe that any harm would come of the invasion. His language now was, that it was a mere diversion, for the sake of getting back Bohemia. The Spaniards were far too friendly not to relinquish their conquests in his favour as soon as they had accomplished their object. He probably thought that if they were ready to act in concert with him in his attack upon the Dutch, it was impossible that they would strip his son-in-law of his hereditary dominions. Whenever he spoke of Frederick, his voice grew louder, and his language more excited. "It is only by force," he said, "that he will ever be brought to reason." "The Palatine," said Buckingham, "is mounted upon a high horse, but he must be pulled off in order to make him listen to his father-in-law's advice."[1]

[1] Camden's *Annals*. Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{July } 24}{\text{Aug. } 3}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 51. Sir E. Sackville is frequently said to have accompanied Vere. This was not the case. Camden tells us that he and Lord Lisle refused to serve, 'out of I know not what ambition and emulation.' In the autumn Sackville was in the Netherlands with the Prince of Orange.

When such was James's own language, it was not likely that much respect would be shown to his ambassadors at Brussels. They were informed that no decision had as yet been taken as to the destination of Spinola's army. With this they were forced to be content. Their mission, they found, was everywhere regarded as a mere formality. Men told them to their faces that it was well known that their master 'would not be drawn into a war upon any condition.' [1]

Conway and Weston at Brussels.

In London, Gondomar now began to speak plainly. Nothing more was heard of his own desire to avert the invasion. The conquest of the Palatinate, he boldly averred, was the indispensable prelude to a lasting peace.[2]

August.

James took the Archduke's reply very easily. "If my son-in-law," he said, "wishes to save the Palatinate, he had better at once consent to a suspension of arms in Bohemia." [3]

James in his heart believed the view of the case which had been presented to him so industriously by Gondomar to be the true one. If Frederick had robbed the Emperor of his property, why might not the Emperor seize upon Frederick's property as a security for the restitution of his own. Such reasoning could only be answered by those who knew that the Palatinate was not Frederick's property at all, but a land filled with thousands of living souls whose rights were infinitely more precious than those for which the rival kings of Bohemia were doing battle.

The Dutch at least had learned from their own experience to value a people's rights. One more desperate effort they

[1] The Archduke Albert to the King, July 22. Conway and Weston to Naunton, July 22, 24, 29. Pecquius to Conway and Weston, July 24, *S. P. Flanders*. Weston to Buckingham, July 22, 23. Conway to Buckingham, July 24, *Harl. MSS.* 1581, fol. 192, 194; 1580, fol. 279. Conway to Buckingham, July 29, *S. P. Germany*.

[2] "Fieramente rispose, con tralasciere assolutamente li concetti prima usati per tenere in speranza che non sarebbe assalito, che vero mezzo per fare la pace era, a punto quello, non altro di lasciar cadere esso Palatinato." Lando to the Doge, Aug. $\frac{10}{20}$, *Venice MSS.*

[3] Naunton to Conway and Weston, Aug, 12, *S. P. Germany*.

made to drag James into a war with Spain. He had now a fleet of twenty ships ready for sea. The expedition against the pirates, so often taken up and laid aside, was at last approaching realisation. Why should he not, such was the reasoning of the Dutch, divert them to a nobler purpose still? Let him launch this fleet against the Spanish treasure-house in the Indies. Spinola would quickly be brought to reason, and the Palatinate would be saved.

Fresh overtures of the Dutch.

Far from thinking of aiding the Dutch against Spain, James was thinking of aiding Spain against the Dutch. News of fresh outrages in the East had just come to irritate him; and he rejected the request with scorn. In language which sounds strange from the lips of a man who was planning a mutiny in the garrisons of a friendly state, he replied, that an attack upon Spain would be 'most dishonourable, and ill beseeming his sincerity.'[1]

Already it was too late to stop the torrent. Maximilian had completed his preparations. On July 13, the first detachment of his troops crossed the Austrian frontier. On the 25th he was at Linz, and six days after his arrival the nobility of Upper Austria were crouching at his feet. Already Lower Austria had submitted unconditionally to Ferdinand, and it was not long before the Bavarians and the Imperialists were ready to march upon Prague. The Elector of Saxony had agreed to attack Lusatia and Silesia, and to keep the Bohemians well employed upon their northern frontier.

July. The invasion of Austria.

It was now Spinola's turn to move. Eighteen thousand men were left in the Netherlands to keep the Dutch in check.[2] With an army of twenty-four thousand, Spinola himself made straight for the Rhine; he

August. Spinola's march.

[1] Carleton to Naunton, Aug. 9. Naunton to Carleton, Aug. 27, *S. P. Holland.* The King to the Princes of the Union, Aug. 27, *Add. MSS.* 12,485, fol. 496.

[2] *Theatrum Europæum*, i. 358. Trumbull to Naunton, Aug. 10, 24, *S. P. Flanders.* I cannot but think that the instructions for Spinola's direction, printed in *Londorp*, ii. 170, are forged. The tone assumed is diametrically opposed to that which appears in every one of the papers which I have seen at Simancas.

crossed the river below Coblenz, in order to keep up as long as possible the belief that he was aiming at Bohemia. Suddenly wheeling round he re-crossed the Rhine, and when Conway and Weston entered Mentz on August 19, they found the town full of Spanish troops.[1]

The army of the Union.

Startled by the imminence of the peril, the English ambassadors hurried to Oppenheim, to confer with the Princes of the Union. They found them at the head of an army of twenty thousand men,[2] a force sufficient, under favourable circumstances, to act on the defensive against the slightly superior numbers of the Spanish General. But the circumstances were not favourable. The long straggling territory of the Palatinate was by nature as indefensible as the Prussia which Frederick the Great received from his father; and in the army of the Union no Frederick was to be found to counterbalance the defects of his position. Nominally the troops were under the command of the Margrave of Anspach, but he was surrounded by a cavalcade of dukes and counts, each of whom fancied, perhaps not without reason, that he knew as much about war as the General.

Conway and Weston consulted.

At this critical moment, the princes appealed to the English ambassadors for advice. It was evident that Spinola, who was busy establishing a basis of operations at Mentz intended to attack them. Would they not, therefore, be justified in anticipating the blow? The ambassadors replied that they 'conceived his Majesty's desire was, that the fault of hostility might be on their adversaries' parts.' To a second and more urgent entreaty, they answered that they had no authority to speak in the King's name, but that, as private persons, their opinion was that it was certain that Spinola was meditating an attack, and, if so, it would be within the limits of defensive warfare to anticipate it.

The discussion was of no practical importance. Spinola had taken good care that his military position should be unassailable. Already, before the ambassadors were consulted,

[1] Conway and Weston to Naunton, Aug. 21, *S. P. Germany.*
[2] Conway and Weston to Naunton, Aug 18, *ibid.*

an attack planned against one of the Spanish posts had been relinquished as impracticable.

When misfortune came, the princes attempted to shift the blame upon the English envoys, who, as they said, had prevented them from attacking the enemy. It would have been well for James if all the charges brought against himself and his ministers could have been met as easily as this.[1]

Spinola's attack.

The blow was not long in falling. On August 30, Spinola, with the spring of a lion, threw himself upon Kreuznach. Ill-fortified and ill-defended, the town surrendered on the following day. Alzei was the next to capitulate, and the princes, whose communications were threatened, retreated in disorder to Worms, where they hoped to find a more defensible position. On September 4, Spinola entered Oppenheim in triumph.[2]

[1] Conway and Weston to Naunton, Aug. 27; Oct. 13. Conway to Buckingham, Aug. 27; Oct. 13 (?). Balcanqual to Carleton, Oct. 14, *S. P. Germany*. The accusation has been usually accepted without hesitation by later writers. A passage written in a letter by the Duke of Zweibrücken to the King shows how it sprang up:—"Sur lesquelles entrefaites, les ambassadeurs de V. Mté., estants transportez vers les Princes Unis, et les ayants exhortez fort serieusement et instamment de ne faire aucun commencement d'hostilité, ains d'attendre jusques à ce qu'on peust juger au vray des intentions dudit Spinola, avec ceste adjection que s'ils en usoient autrement, vostre Mté. l'auroit desaggreable, et qu'au contraire, si de l'autre costé on faisoit le commencement d'aggression V. Mté. embrasseroit asseurement le parti et la defense du Palatinat." Sept. 8. *S. P. Germany*. There is no mention here of the personal explanation given by the ambassadors; and from saying that they urged the Princes to wait till Spinola's intentions could be discovered, to saying that they urged them to wait till the attack was made, the step was easy.

[2] Advertisement from Heidelberg, Sept. 1, *S. P. Germany*. *Theatrum Europæum*, i. 381.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE LOSS OF BOHEMIA.

EVEN the news of the invasion of the Palatinate did not at first produce any considerable effect on James's mind. He told Dohna that the Emperor was perfectly justified in what he had done. To Caron, who produced an intercepted despatch, which proved that the English ambassadors had been intentionally hoodwinked at Brussels, he replied by suggesting that the Dutch should lend him some money. He ordered a courier to start for Prague, to inquire on what terms his son-in-law would now be ready to make peace. To the Duke of Zweibrücken, the Administrator of the Palatinate in Frederick's absence, he wrote a vague letter, promising that in the proper time and place he would be ready to defend the inheritance of his grandchildren. For the present he hoped that the princes would do their best. With the help of the English volunteers and of the Dutch escort which accompanied them, he had little doubt that they would be able to make head against the enemy.[1]

September. James's reception of the news.

Yet the revelation of the intercepted despatch was not altogether thrown away. James's letter to the Duke of Zweibrücken was written on September 23. The next morning Gondomar was admitted to an audience at Hampton Court.

[1] Naunton to Nethersole, Sept. 13, 23, *S. P. Germany*. Caron to the States-General, Sept. 14, *Add. MSS.* 17,677K, fol. 66. Notes of Oñate's despatch, July, *S. P. Spain*. Dohna's reply to the King's objection, Sept. 16, *S. P. Germany*. The King to the Duke of Zweibrücken, Sept. 23, *Add. MSS.* 12,485, fol. 50.

To the surprise of all around, the moment that he entered the presence chamber, James broke out impatiently in an unwonted strain. For months, he said, he had been cheated into the belief that Spinola was going to Bohemia. He was bound not to allow his children to perish, or his religion to be overthrown. He had been treated with the grossest disrespect. The King of France had known all about the projected attack, whilst he had been kept in the dark.

James accuses Gondomar of deceiving him.

Gondomar had long been prepared for some such outburst. He haughtily denied that he had ever used any deception at all. He had always said that his master would risk all he had to recover Bohemia. He had given no engagement that the Palatinate should not be attacked. He had never even been asked to do so, and if he had been asked, he could not have given any satisfactory reply, as the intentions of the Spanish Government had not been communicated to him.

To this James had in reality nothing to reply. If he had chosen to interpret according to his own wishes the purposely vague language of the Spanish ambassador, he had no one but himself to blame. In the consciousness that the fault was his, he lost his temper. No king upon earth, he screamed out, should prevent him from defending his children. When he had said this he burst into tears of impotent rage.[1]

Such was the first intimation of James's intention to interfere in the Palatinate. What chance was there that any good could come of a policy conceived by hazard in a moment of irritation?

A few days afterwards he heard that two of his grandchildren had been removed from Heidelberg, and had been sent to seek the protection of the Duke of Würtemburg. He was sensibly affected by the news,

His promises to Dohna and Caron.

[1] Caron to the States-General, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 28}{\text{Oct. } 8}$, *Add. MSS.* 17,677K, fol. 70. Lando to the Doge, Oct. $\frac{1}{11}$, *Venice MSS.* Tillieres to Puisieux, Oct. $\frac{4}{14}$, *Bibl. Nationale MSS. Harl.* 223 : 16, fol. 524. It is a pity that Raumer did not include this despatch in his selection. The extremely silly remarks of the Frenchman might have served as a warning to those English writers who have built their narratives on his guesses.

and almost forgot for a moment that his son-in-law was a usurper. Even Dohna was at last satisfied with the tone in which he spoke. James said that he would bear Gondomar's tricks no longer, and that he would declare publicly his resolution to embark in support of the Princes.[1] To Caron he was still more emphatic. In his recent displeasure against the Spaniard, his old displeasure against the Dutch had passed out of his mind. The conspiracy for the partition of the Netherlands was forgotten. He might not, he said, be able to do at once all that he wished, but he was thoroughly in earnest. Caron answered by apologising for the untoward occurrences in the East, and by engaging that the States would speedily send ambassadors to clear up all matters in dispute.[2]

Great were the rejoicings at this unexpected turn of affairs. "There was never," wrote one who took a deep interest in the Protestant cause, "so joyful a court here as this declaration hath made. I see men's hearts risen into their faces. Some few are dejected, and will shortly be as contemptible as they deserve to be despised."[3]

His letter to the Princes of the Union.

On the 29th, James despatched a fresh letter to the Princes of the Union. He intended, he said, to preserve his neutrality as far as Bohemia was concerned, but with respect to the inheritance of his children, he would not be neutral. He could not do anything now, as winter was coming on; but if peace could not be obtained before the spring, he would aid them with all the assistance in his power.[4]

The next day, when James came up to Whitehall, to make a public declaration of his intentions in the presence of the Council, the dread of giving encouragement to rebellion was already regaining possession of his mind. On the previous day he had offered his support to the Princes unconditionally. He now informed the Council that if Frederick expected aid, he

[1] Extract from Dohna's despatch, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 27}{\text{Oct. } 7}$, *Add. MSS.* 17,677K, fol. 74.

[2] Caron to the States-General, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 28}{\text{Oct. } 8}$, *Add. MSS.* 17,677K, fol. 70.

[3] Rudyerd to Nethersole, Sept. 27, *S. P. Germany.*

[4] The King to the Princes of the Union, Sept. 29, *Add. MSS.* 12,485, fol. 51. Naunton to Carleton, Sept. 30, *S. P. Holland.*

must listen to the advice given him by the English ambassadors at Prague,[1] or, in other words, that he must agree to renounce the crown of Bohemia.[2]

The Benevolence.

Yet, in spite of this limitation, the King's declaration was received by the Council with rapturous applause. A benevolence, it was agreed, should be raised for the purpose of carrying on the war. The Prince of Wales, as ready now to lead an army against the Spaniards, as he had been three weeks before to lead an army against the Dutch, rated himself at 5,000*l.*; Buckingham, whose exigencies had been satisfied by an apology from Frederick, and who loved the display of a lavish munificence in any cause, offered 1,000*l.* The remaining councillors followed his example with subscriptions in proportion to their rank.[3]

October. A Parliament proposed.

Yet none knew better than the men who were thus widely opening their purses, that a benevolence would prove no efficient substitute for a parliamentary grant. The result of Dohna's appeal to the nation had barely sufficed to support a regiment of two thousand men. James was therefore plainly told that, if anything serious was to be done, Parliament must be summoned.[4] The King replied vaguely that he would think it over. He, however, consented to the appointment of a commission to consider what measures would be fit to lay before the Houses.[5]

Policy of Digby.

It is refreshing to turn, if but for a moment, to a statesman who kept himself free alike from the ignorant impetuosity of the popular party, and the sluggish listlessness of the King. In Digby, James possessed a minister who would have taught him to be a king indeed, and who would have raised England to that high position amongst European states which is denied alike to selfish folly and to military glory,

[1] Morton to Zouch, Oct. 7, *S. P. Dom.* cxvii. 5.

[2] Wotton to the King, Sept. 7. Wotton to Conway and Weston, Sept. 7. Naunton to Nethersole, Sept. 23, *S. P. Germany.*

[3] Naunton to Nethersole, Oct. 2, *S. P. Germany.* Contributions to the Palatinate, *S. P. Dom.* cxvii. 21.

[4] Rudyerd to Nethersole, Oct. 2, *S. P. Germany.*

[5] Bacon to the King, Oct. 2, *Works*, ed. Montagu, xiii. 23.

but which is willingly conceded to wise devotion to the common good. Undemonstrative, and careless of his own fame, Digby had allowed men to count him amongst the blindest partisans of Spain, but those who knew what his opinions really were did not do him this injustice. Gondomar was well aware that, whatever else he might do, he could never make a tool of Digby. If Digby could have had his way, there would have been no Spanish match, and no religious concessions to the demands of a foreign sovereign.[1] But he saw clearly that an alliance between Spain and England, honestly carried out on both sides, would put an end to the barbarous wars of religion by which Europe had been so long distracted; and he saw too—what James never could see—that it was hopeless to count on the mere good-will of Spain, unless the Court of Madrid could be brought to understand that a war with England would be the inevitable result of a persistence in the evil paths of Philip II. It was in this spirit that he had never lost an opportunity of offering frankly the choice between the olive-branch and the sword; that whilst he had recommended the sending of ambassadors upon a mission of conciliation, he had at the same time advised the application to the King of Denmark for a loan to be used for the defence of the Palatinate, and the authorisation of the levy of Dohna's volunteers. In the same spirit, when he was made an involuntary witness of Buckingham's conversation with Gondomar about the proposed attack upon the Netherlands, he took care to warn the Spaniard of the risk he would run of throwing away the friendship of the English Government, by thwarting its policy on the Continent; and now, as ever, he seized upon the first opportunity which presented itself, of proving to Gondomar that England was not to be trifled with.

August. The fleet against the pirates.

By the end of August the fleet which had been so long preparing for the Algiers expedition was ready for sea, and was now lying at Plymouth, waiting for a fresh store of provisions.[2] The Spanish Government was

[1] Digby to the Prince of Wales, 1617, *State Trials*, ii. 1408.

[2] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, $\frac{\text{Aug. 24, 31, Sept. 28}}{\text{Sept. 3, 10, Oct. 8}}$. Lando to the Doge, $\frac{\text{Aug. 31}}{\text{Sept. 10}}$, *Venice MSS.* Carleton to Nethersole, Oct. 22, *S. P. Holland.*

seriously alarmed at the prospect. Orders were accordingly sent to Gondomar to stop the expedition at all hazards.[1] But the ambassador did not find it easy to carry out his instructions. Digby would not listen to his objections. For the attack upon the pirates he cared but little. Two years before he had argued that the chief loss fell upon the subjects of the King of Spain, and that it was, therefore, fitting that the brunt of the undertaking should be borne by Spain.[2] But he knew as well as Gondomar that if war broke out in the spring it would be advantageous that an English fleet should be prepared for action in the Mediterranean.[3]

It was therefore in vain that Gondomar urged that after the King's declaration to the Council, it was impossible that his master could treat an English fleet on terms of assured friendship. The King, replied Digby, had no wish to quarrel with Spain. He had only promised to assist his son-in-law if he listened to reason. The people were wildly excited by Spinola's proceedings. The King could not do less than he had done. If Gondomar had orders to break with England he had better say so at once. Whether the King of Spain liked it or not, the fleet would sail. There were many persons in England who would be only too glad to see it used in an attack upon Flanders, or upon Spain itself. By such language the ambassador was reduced to silence, and the fleet sailed from Plymouth without further difficulty.[4]

Gondomar and James.

It was more easy to deal with the King than with Digby. For a few days after the interview at Hampton Court, James had maintained his ground. Though the ambassador knew that it would not be long before the old relations between them would be restored, his first effort was not crowned with success. He made a formal complaint that

[1] Minutes on the expedition against the pirates, Aug. (?), *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 71.

[2] Digby to Buckingham, Oct. 12, 1618, *Harl. MSS.* 1580, fol. 102.

[3] Digby to the Commissioners for Spanish Affairs, July 26, 1621. *Clarendon State Papers*, i. App. vi.

[4] Buckingham to Gondomar, Oct. 3, *Londorp*, ii. 218. Gondomar to Philip III. Oct. $\frac{11}{21}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 104.

Naunton was treating the Catholics harshly. "I hope," said James, in language which would have suited Elizabeth, "that in future you will show more respect to me than to bring such charges against my ministers. My secretary is not in the habit of acting in matters of importance without my directions."[1]

Gondomar returned to the charge. This time his complaint was that there were rumours abroad by which his honour was affected. Persons in high places did not scruple to assert that he had promised that Spinola would not enter the Palatinate. He now called upon the King, his eyes flashing with well-assumed anger as he spoke,[2] to defend him publicly against the liars who had traduced him. If not, he must clear his own reputation with his sword.

This time Gondomar had struck home. Literally at least, his words were true. He had made many assertions, but he had given no positive engagement. James, therefore, came down to the Council and declared openly that there was no truth in the charges which had been brought against the Spanish ambassador. He ordered Buckingham to convey to Gondomar his acknowledgement that no one had ever engaged on the King of Spain's behalf that Spinola would not enter the Palatinate, but that, on the contrary, no hope had ever been given that any other course would be taken.[3]

By the last clause James deliberately contradicted the assertion which he had made in his passion at Hampton Court. It was all the more welcome to Gondomar. As a certificate of his own honesty he cared but little for it, but it was something to have lowered James in the eyes of his own subjects. Digby's demonstration of independence was now thrown back upon itself. Since the day on which, in obedience to his

[1] Lando to the Doge, Oct. $\frac{x}{xx}$, *Venice MSS.* Desp. Ingh.

[2] "Y cierto es que se lo dixe con la severidad y modo che el caso pidió, y la colera y sentimiento con que yo estaba." Gondomar to Philip III. Oct. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 101.

[3] Buckingham to Gondomar, Oct. 2, *S. P. Spain.* Gondomar to Philip III., Oct. $\frac{7}{17}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2601, fol. 101.

menaces, Donna Luisa de Carvajal had been set at liberty, Gondomar's supremacy at Whitehall had never been so uncontested.

Yet Gondomar did not trust to his splendid audacity alone. Early in September he had received a letter from Madrid, which he was to take care to throw in James's way. The letter, which was written in Philip's name, contained an assurance that an answer would soon be returned to the overtures of the King of England on the subject of the marriage. At the same time the ambassador was informed in a private note, that the English proposals were altogether inadmissible. Nothing short of complete religious liberty could be accepted. He was therefore to keep James amused till the winter set in, by which time the result of the campaign in Germany would be known.[1] At the moment when these letters were written, Philip was listening complacently to the overtures of Ferdinand's ambassador, Khevenhüller, who was instructed to propose a marriage between the Infanta and the Archduke Ferdinand, now the eldest surviving son of the Emperor. After some consideration, he formally gave his consent to the arrangement, adding a suggestion that the Prince of Wales might be consoled with the hand of an Archduchess, who would doubtless be better fitted for a life amongst heretics than was possible for a Spanish princess. There could be little doubt that the Pope would take the burden of the change upon his own shoulders, but, if that could not be, the Infanta might be told to say that she would rather go into a nunnery than marry a heretic, and Philip might magnanimously refuse to force the inclinations of his daughter, even for the sake of an alliance with the King of England.[2]

The marriage treaty.

September.

Before Gondomar received his master's letters, the news of the invasion of the Palatinate had reached England. He saw clearly that this was not the time to raise the slightest suspicion in James's mind, and that

October. Lafuente's mission to Rome.

[1] Philip III. to Gondomar (two letters) $\frac{\text{Aug. } 23}{\text{Sept. } 2}$. Printed in *Francisco de Jesus*, Appendix vii.

[2] *Khevenhüller*, ix. 1191.

there must be no delay in despatching Lafuente, who had been charged with a mission to Rome, with the purpose of opening negotiations there on the basis of the English proposals. Accordingly, on October 16, Lafuente started for Madrid, on his way to Rome, leaving James in the belief that the Spaniards meant what they said.[1]

Bacon's draft of a proclamation.

All this while the commissioners appointed to prepare measures for a Parliament were busy drawing up bills and investigating grievances. They knew, however, that the key-note of the coming session would be struck by the foreign policy of the Crown; and on the 18th, therefore, they forwarded to the King the draft of a proclamation, drawn up by Bacon, for the purpose of defining the position which they hoped that James would take up.

"While we contained ourselves in this moderation," James was made to say, after recounting his reasons for taking no part in the Bohemian war, "we find the event of war hath much altered the case by the late invasion of the Palatinate, whereby (however under the pretence of a diversion) we find our son, in fact, expulsed in part, and in danger to be totally dispossessed of his ancient inheritance and patrimony, so long continued in that noble line, whereof we cannot but highly resent if it should be alienated and ravished from him in our times, and to the prejudice of our grandchildren and line royal. Neither can we think it safe for us in reason of state that the County Palatine, carrying with itself an electorate, and having been so long in the hands of the Princes of our religion, and no way depending upon the House of Austria, should now become at the disposing of that House, being a matter that indeed might alter the balance of our State, and the estate of our best friends and confederates.

"Wherefore, finding a concurrence of reasons and respects of religion, nature, honour, and estate, all of them inducing us in no wise to endure so great an alteration, we are resolved to employ the uttermost of our forces and means to recover and

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Oct. $\frac{19}{29}$. Philip III. to Gondomar, $\frac{\text{Nov. 30,}}{\text{Dec. 10.}}$ *Simancas MSS.* 2573, fol. 87.

resettle the said Palatinate to our son and our descendants, purposing, nevertheless, according to our former inclination so well grounded, not to intermit (if the occasions give us leave) the treaties of peace and accord which we have already begun, and whereof the coming of winter and the counterpoise of the actions of war hitherto may give us as yet some appearance of hope."[1]

This was statesmanlike language. A proclamation, so temperate, and yet so firm, would have served as a rallying point for the whole nation. It would have formed a common ground upon which Pembroke and Abbot could join hands with Digby and Calvert. A king who could in the name of England put forth such a manifesto as this, would speedily have become a power in Europe which neither Spain nor Austria could afford to despise.

Its rejection.

The proclamation was too good for James. It was not that he held, as has been held by many statesmen in later times, that England ought to attend to her own affairs, and that she would only waste her strength in vain in attempting to adjust the relations of Continental states. No such doctrine was put forward either by James or by the opponents of Spain. Where men differed, as far as the Palatinate was concerned, was on the probability that England would find in Spain an enemy or a friend in the achievement of an object which all allowed to be desirable. It is the glory of Bacon and Digby that they attempted to obtain that object in the most conciliatory way, and to oppose Spain in such a manner as to make the risk of war as small as possible. For James, however, the suggested proclamation was too decided. Now, as ever, he shrank from committing himself to any definite step in advance. It would be better, he informed Bacon, to reserve what he had to say till the opening of the session. Matters of state, such as those upon which the proclamation touched, were above the comprehension of the common people.

[1] Draft of a Proclamation. Bacon to Buckingham, Oct. 18. Buckingham to Bacon, Oct. 19, *Letters and Life*, vii. 123.

Meanwhile the excitement was great amongst the common people, who were treated so contemptuously by James. Everywhere men were heard discussing the chances of a Parliament. The simplest occurrences were caught at as affording an indication of the King's intentions. One day, Bacon had said that 'whatever some unlearned lawyers might prattle to the contrary, the prerogative was the accomplishment and perfection of the common law;' and his words were supposed to convey an intimation that supplies would be raised without the intervention of a Parliament.[1] Another day it was rumoured that the King had been talking about demanding Spinola's head, and that some one had expressed a doubt of the likelihood of the King of Spain granting his demand. "Then," James was said to have replied, "I wish Raleigh's head were again upon his shoulders."[2]

The Benevolence pressed.

At last it seemed that all hope of a Parliament must be abandoned. On October 25, circulars were issued to the peers, and to other wealthy persons, urging them to contribute to the Benevolence. The leaders of the war party threw their whole weight into the scale. Nor did they, when it was a question of enforcing the payment of money, shrink from the adoption of the most questionable means. In Hampshire, at the instance of Pembroke and Southampton, Sir Thomas Lambert was punished by a nomination to the shrievalty for his refusal to contribute, and complaints were heard from many other parts of the country of the unfairness with which burdens were laid at the musters of the county militia upon those who had closed their purses to the demand. Yet the result was by no means proportionate to the efforts which were made. One nobleman after another sent an excuse. One was too poor, another had paid large sums to Dohna in the summer, whilst a third would be ready to contribute in a parliamentary way. The Prince of Wales, the members of the Privy Council, and the City of London had in a few days brought together 28,000*l.* It was with diffi-

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 14, *S. P. Dom.* cxvii. 13.
[2] Burton to Carnsew, Oct. 11, *S. P. Dom.* cxvii. 10.

culty that, after some delay, a paltry sum of 6,000*l.* could be levied from all the rest of England.[1]

It was not long before the failure of the appeal was known. If James did not mean to abandon the Palatinate altogether, there was but one course before him. On November 6, a proclamation appeared, summoning a Parliament to meet on January 16.

November. Parliament summoned.

The proclamation was a weak and colourless production, which showed that the King would meet his Parliament without a policy. A vague allusion to the necessity of taking into consideration the state of Christendom, 'so miserably and dangerously distracted at this time,' was all that was said upon a subject upon which James should have laid the greatest stress, if he was to rally the nation to his standard.

When this proclamation was issued James knew that the crisis was impending in Bohemia, even if it had not already come. For some time the news which had reached England from Prague had been such as to prepare men's minds for the worst. The despatches of Sir Francis Nethersole, who, under the modest title of Agent with the Princes of the Union and Secretary to the Electress Palatine, was in reality the English Minister at the Court of Prague, had kept James well informed of the chances of the combatants. Nethersole had been Doncaster's secretary during his embassy; and, as a thorough partisan of Frederick and Elizabeth, he was naturally inclined to overestimate their chances of success. Yet, on August 25, he was forced to describe their situation in the gloomiest colours. The kingdom, he wrote, was in a dangerous and almost desperate state. The Elector of Saxony was within two leagues of Bautzen, and the Bavarians had crossed the southern frontier of Bohemia. The King intended to go in person against the enemy as soon as the new levies were completed. "They say," he continued, "they are I know not how many thousands. But when all that, either out of fear or

The war in Bohemia.

August. Gloomy despatches of Nethersole.

[1] The Council to the Peers, Oct. 25. Rudyerd to Nethersole, Nov. 8. Payments to the Benevolence, *S. P. Dom.* cxvii. 30, 64; cxix. 14. Many letters of excuse will be found amongst the State Papers of the time.

worse affection or doubtfulness of the issue, will stay away themselves and stay others shall be deducted, I doubt they will shrink like the trained bands of this town, which since I came hither did not muster 4,000, though I have heard them reckoned at a far greater number." Thurn's army had dwindled away from 9,000 to 5,000 men. Nor was this the worst. "For towns," Nethersole went on to say, "there is not any one in this kingdom, saving the enemy's, fortified enough to hold out three days. For though his Majesty have been often counselled by strangers to strengthen himself by that means, yet the great commanders and councillors of this kingdom, whom it is not safe for his Majesty to overrule, have always dissuaded him from that course upon pretence of their want of means; but, as some think, indeed, because they have more respect to the preservation of the liberties than of the safety of their country, wherein I pray God they do not too late see their error." [1]

September. Hopelessness of Frederick's cause.

With an apathetic peasantry, and a nobility whose thoughts were fixed upon the maintenance of their own privileges far more than upon the independence of their country, a Napoleon might well have thrown up the game in despair. In blissful ignorance of all that was passing around, Frederick closed his eyes to the danger with which his course was beset. On September 18, he rode out of the gates of Prague amidst the plaudits of the populace, to join his army. There were some bright gleams upon the scene. Bethlen Gabor had been elected King of Hungary, and was hurrying to the assistance of the Bohemians. Mansfeld was fortifying Pilsen. Sickness was raging in the Bavarian camp. Yet, in spite of all this, the enemy was making fearful strides. Bautzen was besieged by the Saxons. The Bavarians and the Imperialists had met with no serious opposition, and were every day drawing nearer to the capital.[2] On the 24th, Nethersole had still worse news to give. The Imperialists had taken Pisek, 'a considerable place, . . . because it is capable of being fortified, which the enemy will not neglect

[1] Nethersole to Naunton, Aug. 15, *S. P. Germany.*

[2] Nethersole to Naunton, Sept. 22, *ibid.*

though our friends have, who had no mind to dig wells till they grew athirst.' The town had resisted, and all within it had been put to the sword. A few days later, Prachatitz suffered the same fate. Frederick was anxious to fight, but the enemy was too strongly posted, and no battle was to be had.[1]

At last, on October 29, Frederick had his wish. Outside the walls of Prague, upon the White Hill, the decisive struggle took place. The Hungarians, upon whose assistance he had placed such reliance, set the example of flight. The battle was lost; and the next day Frederick was flying for his life towards the passes which lead through the Giant Mountains into Silesia.

Oct. 29, The battle of Prague.

There are defeats from which recovery is possible, but the rout of Prague was not one of these. It was no merely military disaster. Frederick had placed himself at the head of an armed mob without national cohesion, without organisation, and without definite purpose. The chiefs were as incompetent as the soldiery. Mansfeld, offended that a post to which he laid claim had been given to another, was sulking at Pilsen, without a thought for the common cause. The Prince of Anhalt's command of the main army was merely nominal. Thurn and Hohenlohe each thought himself better qualified for command than anyone else. Whilst the generals were disputing, the soldiers, without pay, and almost without provisions, were on the verge of mutiny, and were supporting a precarious existence by robbery and pillage.

November.

Frederick himself had done but little to sustain his falling cause. His was not the spirit which could breathe life into the dead bones of the Bohemian nationality. At the council table and in the camp he was equally powerless. At the moment when the fate of his dynasty was decided on the field, he was hiding his incapacity within the walls of the city, and was busily engaged in entertaining at dinner the English ambassadors, Conway and Weston, who had reached Prague just in time to witness the catastrophe which destroyed for ever the hopes of their master's son-in-law.[2]

[1] Nethersole to Naunton, Sept. 24, Oct. 1, *S. P. Germany.*

[2] "On the Sunday morning news came that . . . the horse upon the

Fall of the Bohemian aristocracy.

The reign of the Bohemian aristocracy was at an end. Protestantism, unhappy in its champions, was lying bleeding at the feet of the conqueror. The Royal Charter was sent in triumph to Vienna. After some months' delay, twenty-six of the revolutionary leaders, protesting to the last the justice of their cause, perished on the scaffold. The men who preserved the traditions of Bohemian independence were scattered over the Continent. Upon the estates torn from the vanquished a new aristocracy arose, German by birth and interest, in whose hands the possession of the confiscated estates of the great native families was the surest pledge of fidelity to the House of Austria.

The new Austrian monarchy.

The lost supremacy of a feudal aristocracy is hardly to be regretted in itself, but in Ferdinand's hands the change became the instrument of unmixed evil. In his hatred of anarchy the Emperor could see no good thing in Protestantism. The Bohemian Brothers, the faithful guardians of the religious life of the country, were at once forbidden the exercise of their religion. The monster cups, the symbols, in the popular mind, of the triumphs of Ziska and Procopius, were dragged down with contumely from the walls of the churches. The Lutherans indeed still held a precarious existence, till circumstances made it convenient to suppress them. All free thought, all independent national life, was crushed out under the leaden rule of an alien aristocracy, and the leaden discipline of the returning Jesuits. Dull adherence to routine and unquestioning submission to authority were the principles upon which the renovated monarchy of the Hapsburgs was to take its stand. Even this, no doubt, was better for the moment than the anarchy and helplessness which was surging around. But the day would come when greater warriors

outflanks of the army did skirmish. We were invited to dine with the King, where, for aught we could discover, there was confidence enough, and opined that both the armies were apter to decline than to give a battle. After dinner the King resolved to go to horse to see the army. But, before the King could get out of the gate, the news came of the loss of the Bohemian cannon." Conway to Buckingham, Nov. 18, *Harl. MSS.* 1580, fol. 281.

than Frederick would test the strength of the new edifice with the sword, and when the artificial arrangements of Ferdinand and his successors would prove all too weak to resist the living energy of national organisation. The tree which was planted on the White Hill before the walls of Prague was to bear its bitter fruit at Leuthen and at Marengo, at Solferino and at Sadowa. If a repetition of these disasters is not likely to be witnessed by our own generation, it is because a spirit of higher wisdom has at last found its way to the council-table at Vienna.

The first news of Frederick's defeat reached London on November 24. The agitation was great. It was easy to see that, in their hearts, the citizens laid the blame of all that had taken place upon the King. Not a few took refuge in incredulity. The story, it was said, had come through Brussels, and had probably been invented by the Papists. Many days passed before the unwelcome news was accepted. A full week after its announcement a strange tale gladdened the hearts of all good Protestants. A Scotch horseman, it was said, had dashed into the streets late at night, with news that a fresh battle had been fought, that Prague had been retaken, and that Bucquoi, with many thousands of his troops, had been slain. One enthusiastic lady went so far as to order that a bonfire should be lighted in the street before her door. But it soon appeared that the whole story about the Scotchman was a pure fabrication. A full account of the battle arrived from Trumbull. Yet, for some time, there were not wanting men who continued obstinate in their disbelief, and bets were freely offered that the Imperialists had never entered Prague at all.

November. Excitement in London.

The day on which the bad news arrived in London, an anonymous message reached Gondomar, warning him of a plot to murder him, and recommending him to move to a place of safety. He was seriously alarmed by the intelligence. At midnight he confessed, and, as being in peril of life, received the communion, together with his household. His attendants kept watch till morning dawned. He then sent to ask protection of the Council, and was promised a guard to preserve him from insult. Even then he was not without

Gondomar threatened.

anxiety. He had no wish, he said, to be knocked on the head by an enraged Puritan. For some days he did not venture to appear in the streets, and he even talked seriously of retreating to Dunkirk.

The King and the Prince were at Royston. Charles, whose affection for his sister had never wavered, was greatly distressed. For two days he shut himself up in his room, and would speak to no one. James, on the other hand, though at first he seemed stupefied by the intelligence, soon recovered his spirits. "I have long expected this," were the first words he uttered.[1]

Reception of the news by James.

James may well have felt that a load was taken off his mind. There would no longer be a conflict between his wishes and his principles. It would, now at least, be possible to defend the Palatinate without giving a sanction to his son-in-law's aggression. He began again to dream of becoming the peace-maker of Europe.

With unusual celerity James hastened to take advantage of the short breathing time which the winter afforded. Wotton's nephew, Sir Albertus Morton, was hurried off to Worms with the 30,000*l.* which had been produced by the Benevolence. The King, he was instructed to say, would 'use all means and ways possible by a vigorous war, not only of defence, but of diversion, if need be, for defence and recovery of the Palatinate.'[2] At the same time, Sir Robert Anstruther, who in the past summer had succeeded in borrowing a sum of 50,000*l.* from the King of Denmark, was sent back to ask for a fresh loan; whilst Sir Edward Villiers was despatched, as one who could speak with

December Embassies of Morton, Anstruther, and Villiers.

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letters*, $\frac{\text{Nov. } 30}{\text{Dec. } 10}$, Dec. $\frac{1,\ 7}{11,\ 17}$. Van Male to De la Faille, $\frac{\text{Nov. } 30}{\text{Dec. } 10}$, Dec. $\frac{8}{18}$, *Brussels MSS.*

[2] Naunton to Carleton, Dec. 2, *S. P. Holland.* The King to the Princes of the Union, Dec. *Add. MSS.* 12,485, fol. 55b. From the *Dorman Privy Seal Book*, it appears that on January 8, 31,000*l.* had been paid to Burlamachi out of the Benevolence, for which he had given letters of exchange to Morton. 1,500*l.* more was paid on January 10; 1,000*l.* on Feb. 14; and 200*l.* on July 27. On February 10 the sum received by the King had been 34,211*l.*, and 296*l.* was afterwards paid in.

authority, to tell Frederick himself that assistance would be given him, on condition that he would enter into an engagement to relinquish the Bohemian crown. As soon as Villiers could announce that he had received a satisfactory reply, Digby was to start for the Continent to open the negotiations which, it was hoped, would lead to a lasting peace. Conway and Weston were to be recalled from their purposeless mission, and Wotton, who was of little use where business of real importance was to be transacted, was directed, after urging the Emperor to abtain from harsh measures against Frederick, to return to his dignified retirement at Venice.

Difficulties of the future.

It is seldom that fortune plays so completely into the hands of anyone as it had played into the hands of James. He had now a plain course before him. The policy which he had always adopted, so far as he had a policy at all, was now undeniably the right one. It was the only one which could unite all Protestant Europe in its defence. It was the only one which Catholic Europe could accept without dishonour.

Unhappily, the success of this policy was far from being assured. Frederick was irritated and unreasonable, and it would be a hard matter to bring him to see that his cause in Bohemia was hopeless. The Catholic powers, on the other hand, in the full tide of victory, would not be easily restrained by a few soft words from pushing on to inflict condign punishment on the aggressor. The military position of the House of Austria was undoubtedly a strong one. It was hardly to be expected that Mansfeld could make a prolonged resistance at Pilsen. Silesia was lying prostrate at the feet of the Elector of Saxony. The Catholic inhabitants of the Valtelline had lately massacred the Protestant minority who had oppressed them in the name of the neighbouring Republic of the Grisons; and an excuse had thus been afforded to the Spanish Governor of Milan, to occupy a valley which gave him an independent line of communication through Tyrol with Vienna. On the Rhine, nothing had been accomplished against Spinola, and, in spite of the arrival of Vere's reinforcements, the Spaniards had firmly established themselves in the western districts of the Palatinate.

Even James perceived that, if peace was to be had, he must appeal to the fears as well as to the good-will of the combatants. On January 13, a council of war was appointed, for the purpose of deliberating on the measures to be taken for the defence of the Palatinate. The names of its members were such as to inspire confidence in its decisions. By the side of Essex[1] and Oxford, who had hurried back from Germany as soon as the campaign was at an end, sat Sir Edward Cecil and the Earl of Leicester, both of whom had been trained to war in the Netherlands. To them were added five veteran officers, who had gone through the rough schooling of the Irish wars.[2]

1621. The Council of War.

At the time at which the council of war was being formed, a splendid opportunity was offered to James of impressing Gondomar and the Spanish Government with the belief that he was at last determined to follow his own independent judgment. In the past summer an attendant upon the Prince of Condé, a gentleman named Du Buisson, had made his appearance in England, on the pretext that he had come to buy horses for his master. At an audience which had been granted to him, he had blurted out a proposal that the Prince of Wales should marry the Princess Henrietta Maria. James stared at him, and told him that he was much obliged for the honour done to him, but that he could not break his engagements with Spain so lightly. Du Buisson accordingly soon returned to France. James, however, had not heard the last of his proposal. Sir Edward Herbert, the future Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was at this time ambassador in Paris, took it up with all the warmth of his disposition. An alliance with England, he wrote, would be generally acceptable to the French nation. The Princess herself would gladly consent to the marriage. Some one had spoken in her presence of the difficulties which might arise from the diversity

1620. Mission of Du Buisson.

[1] It is amusing to find the historians of the Civil War justifying Essex's appointment as Parliamentary General, on the ground of the experience which he had acquired in the Palatinate. He saw the enemy once, but he never drew sword against him.

[2] Appointment of the Council of War, Jan. 13, *S. P. Dom.* cxix. 21.

of religion. "A wife," she had replied, "ought to have no will but that of her husband."[1]

It was easy for James to dispose after this fashion of disagreeable overtures. But it was not without considerable annoyance that he learned in December that the brother of the favourite, Luynes, the Marquis of Cadenet, was about to visit England upon an extraordinary mission, the purpose of which he could hardly fail to divine. In fact, the French ministers were in a position of no little difficulty. They were beginning to perceive that, in negotiating the treaty of Ulm, they had signed away the supremacy over Germany in favour of the House of Austria. At the same time the clouds were gathering for a fresh civil war at home. Angry at the restoration of the ecclesiastical lands in Bearn to the Catholic clergy, the Protestant malcontents, in defiance of the royal authority, had issued a summons for an illegal assembly to be held at Rochelle. Luynes's object was, therefore, to make sure of the co-operation of England against the House of Austria abroad, and to make sure of its neutrality in the impending civil war at home.

December. Cadenet's embassy.

Cadenet was unfortunately a man to whom no one but the most partial of brothers would have thought of entrusting a delicate negotiation. The first thing that he did upon his arrival in England, was to quarrel with Arundel on a point of etiquette. The next thing that he did was to quarrel with Tillières, the ambassador of his own sovereign, upon a similar question.[2] At a magnificent banquet at which he was entertained by the King, the young French nobles of his train disgusted by their insolence the English who were present. Some of these hotheaded youths actually had the impertinence to leave the hall because they were not allowed to take precedence of the gentlemen of the long robe, as they disdainfully called the Lord Chancellor and

1621. January. Cadenet's display.

[1] Herbert to the King, Aug. 14, 1620, *Harl. MSS.* 1581, fol. 15; *Memoires du Comte Leveneur de Tillières*, 25.

[2] *Ibid.* 32.

the Lord Chief Justice of England.[1] Bacon, at least, had already formed a correct opinion of the splendid diplomatist. "What think you," said the King, "of the French ambassador?" "He is a tall, proper man," was the guarded reply. "Ay," persisted James, "but what think you of his headpiece? Is he a proper man for the office of an ambassador?" "Sir," said the Chancellor, "tall men are like high houses, of four or five storeys, wherein commonly the uppermost room is worst furnished."[2]

His reception.

In such hands a difficult negotiation was unlikely to prosper. A hint on the subject of the marriage, dropped in conversation with Buckingham, was so coolly received that Cadenet did not venture to repeat it. He could get no definite answer to his suggestions about the Palatinate and the Valtelline. It was still worse when he spoke of the disloyalty of the French Protestants. James turned sharply upon him. He was sorry, he said, to hear such language. If they rebelled against their King, they deserved to be punished. But if it was intended to trump up a charge against them to serve as a pretext for the ruin of the Reformed religion, he would not hear it. It would be better for the King of France to walk in his father's steps than to do what he was doing now.

Thus repulsed, there was nothing left to the ambassador but to take his leave. James was hardly to be congratulated upon the success of his diplomacy. The strength of his position lay in his adoption of the principle of territorial independence, the only one which at that time could give peace to the

[1] Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 13, *S. P. Dom.* cxix. 24. Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Jan. $\frac{5}{15}$. *Finetti Philoxenis*, 67.

[2] The story is told by Howell, *Letters*, ed. 1726, 81. The date given is wrong, but the dates in this book are frequently wrong, having been added pretty much at random after the publication of the first edition. What is of more importance is, that Bacon is called Lord Keeper, which, unless it be considered the mistake of a man just returned from the Continent, looks as if the letter itself, like many others in the series, had been got up for publication long afterwards. Yet the story may, I think, be accepted. It finds a place in the Apophthegms (*Bacon's Works*, viii. 182), though without mention of the name of the ambassador referred to.

distracted Continent. He was now recklessly throwing away the strength which he might have derived from this very principle. It was very doubtful whether, even if he wished it, he would be able to render any effectual service to the French Protestants. It was certain that he would never make up his mind to give them anything more than words. Yet he turned his back upon the alliance which alone would have enabled him to speak with authority in Europe, and placed himself in the ridiculous position of being the defender of the rights of a sovereign against his subjects in Bohemia, and the defender of the rights of subjects against their sovereign in France. Driven about with every gust of momentary feeling, in one thing only was he consistent—in the tenacity with which he clung to any theory, however false, to any phantom, however delusive, which might stave off for the time the dreaded necessity of action.

All this was not lost upon Gondomar. The wily Spaniard took a pleasure, only second to that with which he enjoyed the triumph of his master's armies, in forcing James to proclaim to the world his own weakness. Much to his delight he heard that Cadenet, in his eagerness to obtain support in every quarter, had sent one of his attendants to ask Naunton's opinion on the prospects of the French alliance, and that Naunton had incautiously answered that he knew the King to be in great want of money, and that he therefore advised the French, if they wished to be stened to, to offer a portion with their princess at least as large as that which would be given with the Infanta.[1]

Naunton's disgrace.

The story was at once carried by Gondomar, not without exaggeration, to the King. James was indignant. The allusion to his anxiety about the portion of his future daughter-in-law, contained truth enough to put him into a passion. He gave orders at once that Naunton should be suspended from his office, and should place himself in confinement within the walls of his house at Charing Cross.[2]

[1] *Memoires du Comte Leveneur de Tillières*, 43. Caron to the States-General, *Add. MSS.* 17,677K, fol. 91.

[2] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{Jan. } 31}{\text{Feb. } 10}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2602, fol. 18.

Gondomar's influence was evidently in the ascendant. Captain North, returning after a peaceful voyage to the Amazon, was imprisoned for having sailed in disobedience to orders.[1] Dohna, who had been led by imprudent zeal into an attempt to convict James of inconsistency in promising more than he had performed, was forbidden to show himself at Court, and was forced, not long afterwards, to leave England.[2] Even Abbot, upon some charge the nature of which we do not know, barely escaped exclusion from the Council.[3]

All the while that James was thus frittering away whatever character for decision remained to him, the popular indignation against everything Spanish was daily growing. It was in vain that the Government attempted to stem the tide. A proclamation appeared, warning all persons 'to take heed how they intermeddled, by pen or speech, with causes of state, or secrets of empire, either at home or abroad.'[4] James might as well have spoken to the winds. Men's hearts were too full to be silent.

Political pamphlets.

In the midst of the excitement, general attention was especially attracted by a pamphlet, remarkable for the ability with which it was written, and the skill with which it caught the feeling of the hour.[5] It was the work of a Norwich minister, Thomas Scot. Under the title of *Vox Populi*, it purported to give an account of Gondomar's reception by the Council of State, upon his return to Madrid in 1618. The ambassador is there made to explain his schemes for bringing England into subjection to Spain, to tell with evident satisfaction of the throngs which had crowded to mass in his chapel, and to recount how he had won over the leading courtiers by his bribes. He then describes, with great glee, the failure of

The *Vox Populi*.

[1] Salvetti's *News-Letter*, Jan $\frac{12}{22}$.

[2] Dohna's Memorial, Jan. 8. Dohna to Calvert, Jan. 18, *S. P. Germany*. The King to Frederick, Jan. 26, *Add. MSS.* 12,485, fol. 61.

[3] Gondomar to Philip III., $\frac{\text{Jan. } 30}{\text{Feb. } 10}$, *Simancas MSS.* 2602, fol. 18.

[4] Proclamation, Dec. 24, 1620, *Rymer*, xvii. 279.

[5] I suspect, from the slight mention of Bohemia, that it was written about the spring of 1619, and perhaps circulated in MS. till the course of events made the writer think that it would be worth while to print it.

Raleigh's expedition. As a matter of course, he receives the congratulations of the Council on the approaching realisation of his hopes, and on the coming establishment of the universal monarchy of Spain over the whole world. Suddenly a courier arrives with news of the imprisonment of Barneveld, and the Council breaks up in confusion, upon hearing of the fall of the man who is depicted as their principal supporter.

With Gondomar's despatches in our hands, it is easy for us to discover that the whole story was an impudent fabrication. At the time it was widely received as a piece of genuine history.

In the midst of this excitement, on January 27, Bacon was raised to a higher grade in the peerage by the title of Viscount St. Alban. He was now at the height of his prosperity. On the 22nd, there had been high feasting at York House, the stately mansion which had once been tenanted by his father, and which had become the official residence of the Chancellor of the day. It was the last birthday which he was destined to spend in the full consciousness of honour and success. Ben Jonson was there amongst the guests, bringing with him the lines which he had prepared to recite in celebration of the greatness of his patron. "This," he said, addressing his words to the fabled genius of the house :—

Bacon created Viscount St. Alban.

Ben Jonson's verses.

> "This is the sixtieth year
> Since Bacon and thy Lord was born, and here,
> Son to the grave, wise keeper of the Seal,
> Fame and foundation of the English weal.
> What then his father was, that since is he,
> Now with a title more to his degree :
> England's High Chancellor, the destined heir,
> In his soft cradle, to his father's chair ;
> Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full,
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool."

To the outward adornments of rank, to its pomp and splendour, to the new grandeur of the old abode which had sheltered him in his infancy, to the flowery lawns and soft beauty of the woods of Gorhambury, Bacon clung fondly in sunshine and in storm But he had not

The *Novum Organum.*

made these things the purpose of his life. In the midst of the state which he kept, in the midst of the political occupations by which he hoped to serve his King and his country, he kept steadily in view that great scientific object to which, above all things, he had devoted himself. And now at last the *Novum Organum*, the fragmentary relic of that grand scheme for the restoration of the sciences which had floated before his youthful imagination in the days when he boasted that he had 'taken all knowledge for his province,' had passed through the press. For the reception with which it met, he cared but little: Coke might recommend him with a snarl to restore the justice and the laws of England before he meddled with the doctrines of the old philosophers; James might meet him with the silly jest that the book was like the peace of God, because it passed all understanding. It was for posterity that he worked, and for the judgment of posterity he was content to wait.

Its defects,

In truth, it was not altogether the fault of Bacon's contemporaries that they failed in appreciating the merits of his work. As a practical book, addressed to practical men, it was as complete a failure as was the commercial policy of its writer. He fancied, indeed, that he had discovered a method by which the whole domain of nature might be explored with a very moderate amount of labour, and by which the acquisition and retention of knowledge might be reduced almost to a mechanical certainty.[1] Yet, in fact, the method which he invented has never been of the slightest use to any scientific inquirer. Nor was it Bacon's method alone that was at fault. In spite of the value which he placed upon experiments, he seems to have been intellectually incapable of conducting a single experiment properly. The great preacher of accurate investigation was constantly casting ridicule upon his own pretensions by accepting the most ludicrous blunders as undoubted truths. He tells us, for instance, that metals

[1] "Absolute certainty and a mechanical mode of procedure such that all men should be capable of employing it, are the two great features of the Baconian method."—Ellis. Introduction to the Philosophical Works. *Works*, i. 23.

never expand when heated, and that a wooden arrow will penetrate more deeply into a wooden target than one pointed with iron.[1] He did not even take the trouble to acquaint himself with the labours of contemporary investigators; and he actually ventured to write about astronomy, in ignorance of the discoveries of Kepler, and to write about mathematics, in ignorance of the discoveries of Napier.[2]

and merits.

Yet, strange to say, these errors, instead of detracting from Bacon's greatness, serve but to increase our admiration of his powers. There would be nothing wonderful if a man in the foremost ranks of science, the Newton or the Faraday of his day, were to indicate the probable direction of future inquiry. But that which gives to the author of the *Novum Organum* a place apart amongst 'those who know,' is, that being, as he was, far behind osme of his contemporaries in scientific knowledge, and possessing scarcely any of the qualifications needed for scientific investigation, he was yet able, by a singular and intuitive prescience, to make the vision of the coming age his own, and not only to point out the course which would be taken by the stream even then springing into life, but to make his very errors and shortcomings replete with the highest spirit of that patient and toilsome progress from which he himself turned aside.

Bacon's philosophical position.

A great writer who has written of Bacon's political life without understanding either the nature of the man or the ideas of the age in which he lived has compared him to Moses looking from the heights of Pisgah upon the Promised Land which was hidden from the eyes of the multitudes below. It would perhaps be more just to compare him to the traveller who from some lofty peak surveys a mountain region without the assistance of a map, than to one who looks down upon a plain stretched beneath his feet. Such a one gains a new and overpowering sense of the general geographical features of the landscape. He sees the mountain

[1] *Nov. Org.* ii. 18, 25.

[2] Ellis. Preface to the "Descriptio globi intellectualis." Compare Mr. Spedding's remarks in his preface to the "De interpretatione naturæ proœmium." *Bacon's Works*, iii. 705, 507.

forms piled confusedly around him, and, for the most part, he can distinguish the furrows of the greater valleys. Here and there the gleam of a lake, half-concealed by intervening obstacles, will catch the eye, and he learns to discern the softened greenness of the distant plain. As he descends, he carries with him in his mind's eye that which no map could have given him. Yet, to construct even the roughest map from the knowledge thus gained would be far beyond his powers. He will remember how soon the course of the stream or of the pathway was hidden amongst the windings of the hills; and even if he is aware of the geographical position of the city to which his steps were directed, he will know that any attempt to reach it in a straight line would be met by the intervention of some precipitous abyss abruptly barring his passage. He will be condemned to wander hopelessly amongst a network of undistinguishable tracks, until he resigns himself to the guidance of some peasant whose practical acquaintance with the path is greater than his own.

It is in Bacon's philosophy that the key to his political life is to be found. In its general conceptions, his statesmanship was admirable. The change which was to make religion thoughtful and tolerant, and the change which was to make England the home of peaceful industry and commercial activity, were ever present to his mind. He took no part in the wrangling disputations of contending theologians, and he turned a deaf ear to the interruptions of legal pedants.

His political position.

No point of Bacon's political system has been so thoroughly discarded by later generations as that which deals with the relations between the Crown and the Houses of Parliament. Yet even here his mistake lay rather in the application of his principles than in the spirit by which they were animated. His hardest blows were directed against the error of which the French Constituent Assembly of 1789 has furnished the weightiest example; the error which regards the Executive Power and the Representative Body as capable, indeed, of treating with one another on a friendly footing, but as incapable of merging their distinct personalities in each other. It was thus that the Great Contract of 1610

On parliamentary government.

was utterly distasteful to him. The King and the Lower House, he held, were not adverse parties to enter into bargains. They were members of the same commonwealth, each charged with its appropriate functions. It was not well that the King should redress grievances merely because he expected to receive something in return. It was not well that the Commons should vote supplies as the purchase-money of the redress of grievances. If the King wished to have obedient and liberal subjects, let him place himself at their head as one who knew how to lead them. Let the administration of justice be pure. Let the exercise of the prerogative be beneficent. Let Parliament be summoned frequently, to throw light upon the necessities of the country. If mutual confidence could be thus restored, everything would be gained.

In proclaiming this doctrine, Bacon showed that he had entered into the spirit of the future growth of the constitution as completely as he showed, in the *Novum Organum*, that he had entered into the spirit of the future growth of European science. That it is the business of the Government to rule, and that it is also the business of the Government to retain the confidence of the representatives of the people, are the principles which, taken together, distinguish the later English constitution from constitutions resting upon assemblies formed either after the model of the first French Empire or after the model of the Popular Assembly of Athens. Yet no man would have been more astonished than Bacon, if he had been told what changes would be required to realise the idea which he had so deeply at heart. Clinging to the old forms, he hoped against hope that James would yet win the confidence of the nation, and he shut his eyes to the defects in his character which rendered such a consummation impossible.

Bacon's foreign policy.

So far, indeed, is it from being true that the domestic policy of James must of necessity have been opposed to Bacon's views, that we have every reason to believe that in its main lines it was dictated, as far as it went, by Bacon himself. It was otherwise with James's foreign policy. For, though Bacon looked forward with hopefulness to the time when Europe should no longer be distracted

by religious difficulties, he regarded Spain with the deepest distrust, and he cherished the belief that it was a national duty to prevent any further aggression of the Catholic Powers upon the Protestant States on the Continent. In this spirit he had prepared the draft of the proclamation which James had refused to use, and it was the expectation that this spirit would animate both King and Parliament which had raised his patriotic hopes more highly than they had been raised at any time since James had come to the throne.

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